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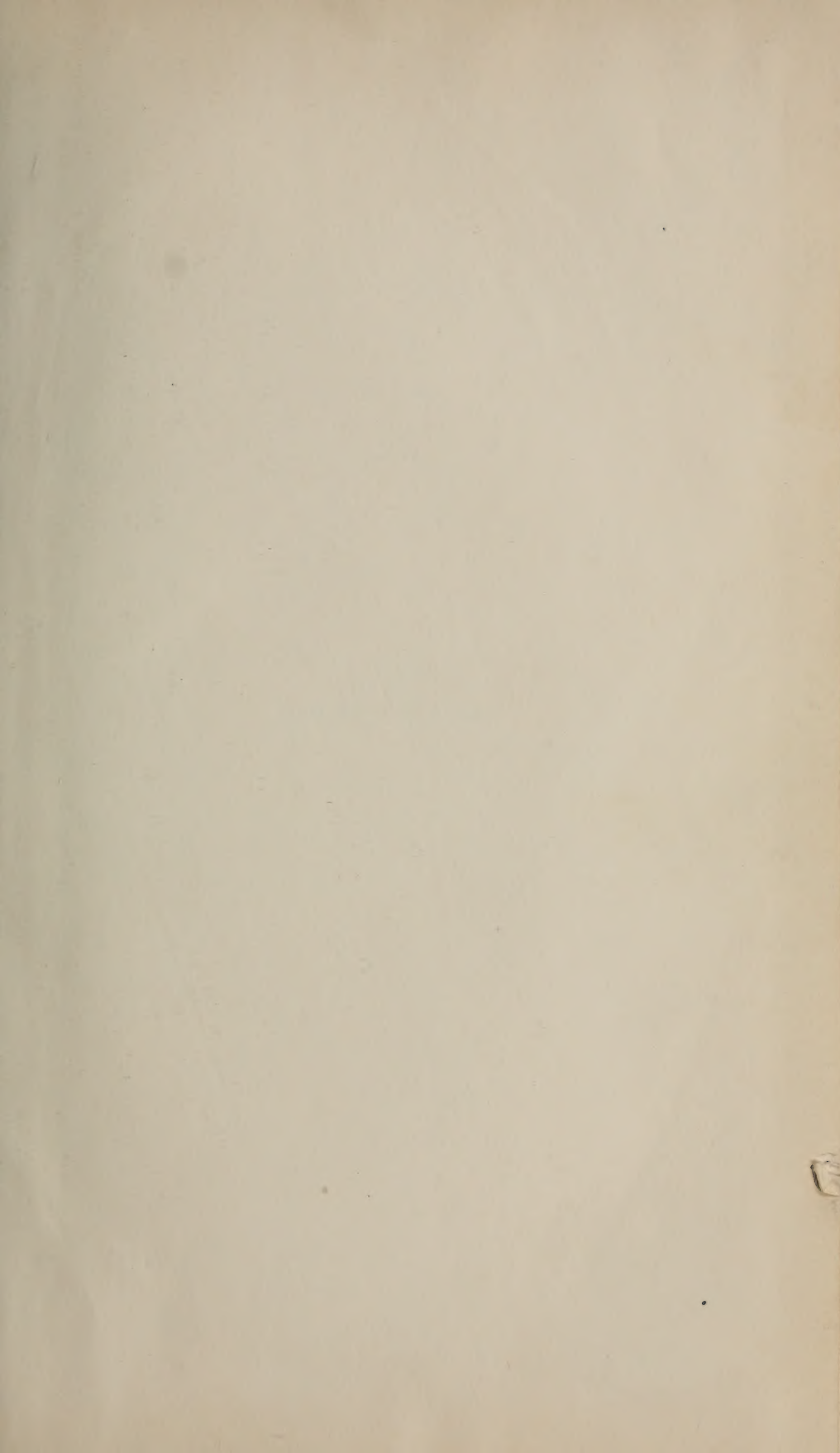
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ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE.



HISTORY  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION  
OF  
1848.

BY A. DE LAMARTINE.

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Quilibet nautarum, rectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest: ubi sæva ortu tempestu est, ac turbato mari, vento rapitur navis, tùm viris opus est.

*Address of Fabius to the Senate.*

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TRANSLATED BY  
FRANCIS A. DURIVAGE AND WILLIAM S. CHASE.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:  
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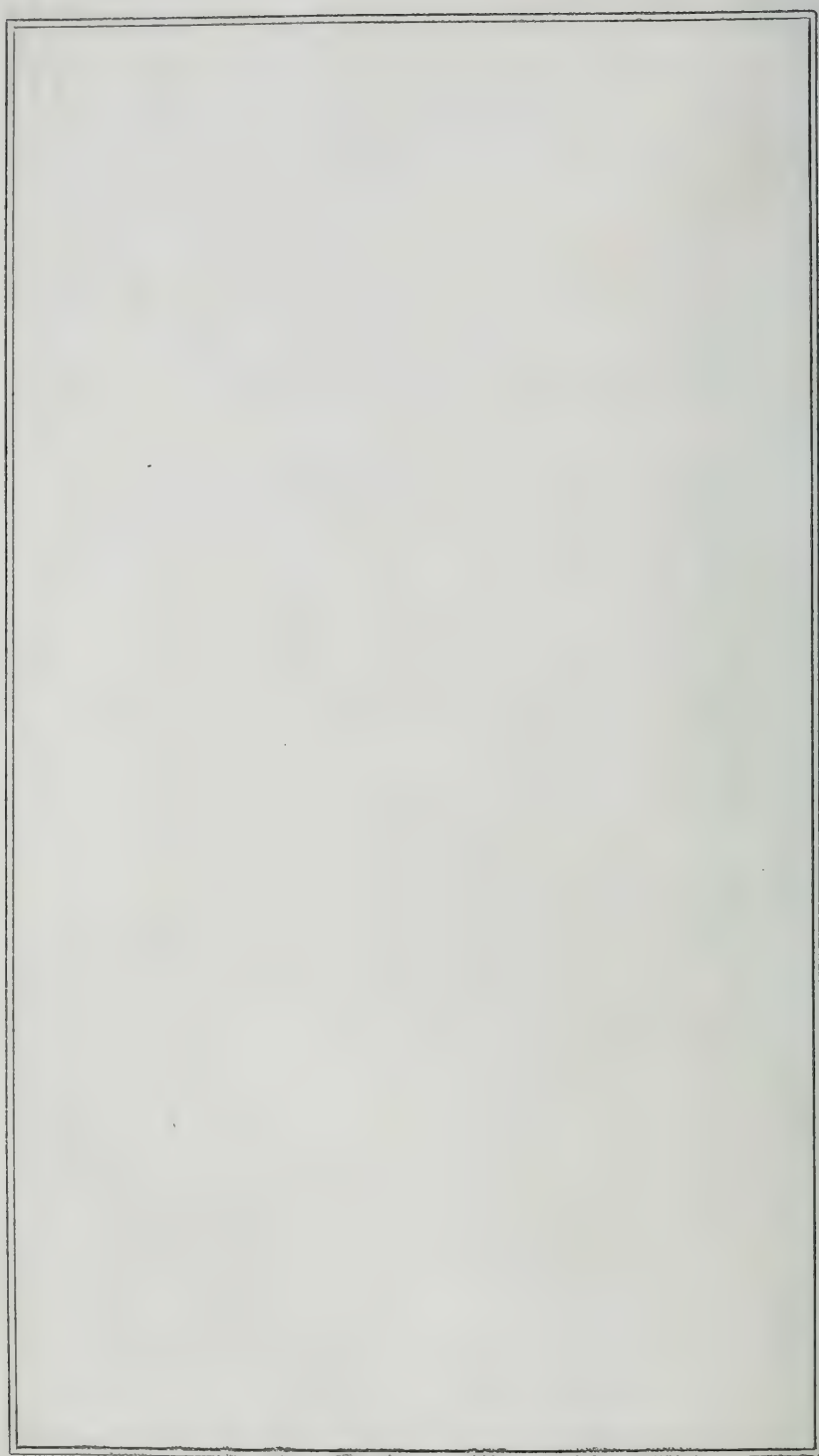
## PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE announcement of a History of the Revolution of 1848, by the author of *Les Girondins*, who has been admired as the hero of that great event, was speedily followed by the publication of the book at Paris. An early copy of the work having been placed by us in the hands of the translators, they commenced their task at short notice, and under a pledge of rapid execution. Yet, in fulfilling the latter condition, they were to endeavor conscientiously to avoid injustice to the original. As far as possible, they have aimed to render every phrase of the historian by its equivalent in English, and not a line of his has been suppressed. The difficulties encountered can be fully appreciated only by those who are aware how completely the resources of the French, that flexible and copious language, have been exhausted by the ingenuity and genius of Lamartine, and how difficult it is to grasp some of his poetical and philosophical ideas and expressions.

With these brief remarks, this brilliant contribution to the historical literature of the nineteenth century is submitted, in a translated form, to the candor and discernment of the American public.

Boston, August, 1849.





# HISTORY

OF THE

## REVOLUTION OF 1848.

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### BOOK I.

#### I.

THE revolutions of the human mind are slow, like the eras of the life of nations. They resemble the phenomena of vegetation, which enlarges the plant without the naked eye being able to measure its growth during its development. God has proportioned this period of growth, in all beings, to the period of duration which he assigns them. Men, who are to live an hundred years, continue growing till the age of twenty-five, and even upwards. Nations, which are to live two or three thousand years, have revolutions of development, of infancy, youth, manhood, and lastly old age, which do not embrace fewer than two or three centuries. The difficulty with the vulgar, in respect to these convulsive phenomena of popular revolutions, is to distinguish crises of growth from crises of decadence, youth from old age, life from death.

Superficial philosophers herein deceive themselves and say : such a nation is in its decadence, because its old institutions are crumbling to pieces ; it is sure of dissolution, because it is growing young. This opinion was expressed at the commencement of the French revolution, at the moment when absolute monarchy expired. It was heard on the occasion of the decadence of feudality. It was heard on the fall of theocracy. We hear it now at the fall of the constitutional monarchy.

This is an error ; France is in her youth, and will yet employ many forms of government before exhausting the strong intellectual life with which God has endowed the French race. Still there is a certain method of avoiding self-deception with regard to the character of these crises, and it lies in the consid-

eration of what is the element which predominates in a revolution. If revolutions are the product of a vice, or a personality, of the crimes or isolated grandeur of one man, of an individual or national ambition, of the rivalry of two dynasties aspiring to a throne, of a thirst for conquest, blood, or even unjust glory, in the nation, particularly of hatred between classes of citizens; such revolutions are preludes of decadence, and signs of decomposition and death, in a human race. If revolutions are the fruit of a moral idea, of a reason, a logic, a sentiment, an aspiration towards a better order of government and society, even if a blind and deaf one; of a thirst for development and perfection in the relations of citizens to each other, or of the nation to other nations; if they are an elevated ideal, instead of being an abject passion; such revolutions exhibit, even in their catastrophes and transitory errors, a strength, youth and vitality, which promise long and glorious periods of growth to races. Now such was the character of the French revolution of 1789; and such is that of the second French revolution of 1848.

The revolution of 1848 is merely a continuance of the former, with fewer elements of disorder, and more elements of progress. In both, it was a moral idea which produced the explosion in the world. This idea is the people; the people who, in 1798, freed themselves from the servitude, ignorance, privileges and prejudices of absolute monarchy; the people who, in 1848, freed themselves from the oligarchy of a small number, and a monarchy representing in too limited a manner the development of right, and the interest of the masses in the government. Now whatever difficulties this idea of the people, and the regular accession of the masses to political affairs, a democratic phenomenon of such novelty, may present to statesmen, this idea, we say, being a moral truth with every evidence for the mind and heart of the philosopher, the revolution which sustains and agitates this idea in its bosom is a revolution of life, and not a revolution of death. God lends it his aid, and the people will emerge from it increased in right, strength, and virtue. It may falter on the way, through the ignorance of the masses, the impatience of the people, the factions and sophistries of men wishing to substitute their personality for the people themselves; but it will end by removing these men, by detecting these sophistries, and by developing the germ of reason, justice, and virtue, which God has sown in the blood of the French family. It was in this second crisis of the revolution of our country that I bore a part, and which I will now attempt



to delineate, that it may serve the people by showing them their own image in one of the noblest hours of their history, and that it may command honor for our time in the ages of posterity.

## II.

I will briefly state, what others will recount with more amplification and at leisure, the causes of this revolution. I hasten to the narrative.

The revolution from 1789 to 1800 had wearied France and the whole world by its debates, its convulsions, its grandeur, and its crimes. By a sad but natural reaction, France had become enamored of the antithesis of liberty, of the despotism of a soldier of genius. I employ the word genius, but I will explain myself; I mean nothing but a genius for victory and a genius for despotism. Napoleon, who possessed these talents of the camp, was very far from having the genius of society. Had he possessed it, he would have made the revolution march orderly beneath his eagles. He made it recoil, and drove it back upon the middle ages. He either betrayed his age, or did not comprehend it. His reign was nothing but a severe discipline imposed upon a nation. He was to France what fatality is to free will, an adored and sublime degradation, but still a degradation. A nation is great only in itself, never in the greatness of him who crushes in ruling it; and the greater Napoleon became, the more were liberty and philosophy belittled.

After the fall of Napoleon, the exiled brothers of Louis XVI. returned, somewhat impressed with the ideas of 1789, and somewhat prepared for liberty by their long sojourn in England among a free people. A strange but astonishing fact was the fall of the counter-revolution from the throne with Napoleon, achieved by the hands of foreigners, and the reëntance into France of the revolution of '89, with the old princes of the proscribed race of Bourbons. It was this which insured them a welcome with the constitutional charter in their hands. France recognized there the doctrines of Mirabeau and the legacy of the Constituent Assembly. Louis XVIII. observed it : kilfully, and died in peace beneath the shadow of the idea of '89. The ancestral memories of Charles X. were too vivid. He thought he could sport with the charter which contained all of the revolution which remained in France. He grew old and died in exile, involving in his fate his grandson, who was punished in his cradle for the antiquated ideas and mental levity of his grandfather.

## III.

Louis Philippe of Orléans was called to the throne as the living and crowned revolution of 1789. This prince yet lives, but there is as wide a space between the throne and exile as between life and death, and I shall speak of him with the same freedom as if he had ceased to exist. Living, I did not flatter him. I held myself at a respectful distance from his kingdom and his favors; and, exiled and dead to power, I will not insult him. Exile and years command more respect than even the grave, from the hearts of men. France had the right to suffer him to fall from the throne. History, in my opinion, will have neither the right of hating nor that of disdaining him. The man occupies a large space by himself in his reign, and his reign will fill a great space also in history. There is nothing so mean as to dwarf one's enemies. The people who have succeeded Louis Philippe have no need of this subterfuge of kings, who always insult their predecessors. The people are great enough to measure themselves with a dethroned king, and to concede his full height to the sovereign they have displaced.

## IV.

Louis Philippe of Orléans was of a revolutionary race, though a prince of the blood. His father had plunged into the most deplorable excesses of the Convention. He had made himself popular, not through the glory, but the atrocity, of this epoch; and the faults of the father were the pledges of the son in the eyes of the revolution of 1830.

Still Louis Philippe was too honest and adroit a man to redeem the sanguinary promise of his name to the revolution which proclaimed him king. Nature had made this prince a man of probity and moderation; exile and experience had made him a politician. The difficulty of his part, as a prince among democrats and democrat among princes, in the commencement of his life, had rendered him supple to circumstances, patient in events, and temporizing with fortune. He seemed to foresee that destiny owed him a throne. In the mean while, he enjoyed the pleasures and virtues of family relations in a retired, modest, and irreproachable domestic life. He had always a tribute of respect for the reigning monarch, and a smile of intelligence for the opposition, without, however, encouraging them by any criminal complicity. Studious, thoughtful, and exceed-



ingly well informed on all points touching the interior administration of empires; profoundly versed in history; a diplomatist equal to Mazarin or Talleyrand; possessed of a fluent and inexhaustible elocution, which resembled eloquence as much as conversation can resemble oratory; a model for husbands, an example for fathers, in the midst of a nation which loves to see good morals seated on the throne; gentle, humane and peaceable; brave by birth but abhorring bloodshed; it might be said that nature and art had endowed him with all the qualities which make up a popular king, with one exception:—greatness.

## V.

He supplied this deficiency of greatness, by a secondary quality, which minds of middle stature admire, and great men despise;—adroitness. He both used it and abused it. Some acts of this political adroitness degraded him from his character to tricks which would have been censured in a private individual. What was it in a king? Such was the disgrace he permitted his ministers to cast upon a princess of his own house. The Duchess de Berry, his niece, contested the throne with him; he allowed the veil to be torn from the privacy of her life as a woman. If this act, the most immoral of his reign, was committed to prevent the effusion of blood, and discountenance civil war, we must pity him; if it was tolerated by personal ambition, we must stigmatize him.

## VI.

Three parties were in agitation round his throne; the republican party, whom the timid indecision of Lafayette had despoiled of the republic in 1830; the legitimist party, which adored the elder branch of the Bourbons as a dogma, and abhorred the younger branch as a profanation of the monarchy; and finally, the liberal and constitutional party, composed of the immense majority of the nation. This party saw in Louis Philippe the living bargain between royalty and the republic, the last form of an hereditary dynasty, and the last hope of monarchy.

It does not enter into our plan to relate how this prince assailed the republicans, who did not cease to conspire against his reign, while fanatics plotted against his life; how he annulled the legitimists, who remained for eighteen years in an

attitude of mental hostility to his government, notwithstanding his patience in waiting for them; how, finally, he manœuvred between the different shades of the constitutional party, obtaining from them sometimes a liberty, sometimes a complaisance, and ended in surrounding himself by a narrow oligarchy, devoted or corrupt, and composed of blind courtiers, pliant public functionaries, and electors sold to his fortunes.

Master of parties within, inoffensive and obsequious to the foreigners to whom he sacrificed all to obtain the tolerance of his dynasty; happy in his family, surrounded by sons who would have been eminent citizens if they had not been princes, seeing him renewed in the third generation in his grand-children, whom he personally and complacently trained for the throne; having for his court a family of pious, beautiful and educated princesses, who were respected or admired; the future seemed to him as if assured to his race by his star, and history as if subjugated to his name by his success. He bequeathed the restored and rejuvenated monarchy to France, peace to the world, and three European thrones to his dynasty. His green old age, whose strength he had economized by the chastity of his maturity, was the anticipated triumph of wisdom over the difficulties of life and the mobility of destiny.

## VII.

Such was Louis Philippe at the commencement of the year 1848. This whole perspective was reality. His enemies acknowledged themselves vanquished. Parties adjourned their hopes to the day of his death. Reflection was overwhelmed in contemplating a wisdom so profound, and a fortune so constant. But to this wisdom and to this fortune a broader basis was wanting — the people.

Louis Philippe had not comprehended all the democracy in his views. Served by ministers, skilful and eloquent indeed, but rather members of parliament than statesmen, he had restricted the democracy to the proportions of an elected dynasty, with the chambers and three hundred thousand electors. He had left beyond the pale of rights and political action all the rest of the nation. He had made of a pecuniary quit-rent the sign and material title of sovereignty, instead of recognizing and establishing this sovereignty by the divine right of man — a creature capable of rights, of discernment, and of will. In a word, he and his short-sighted ministers had



put their faith in an oligarchy, instead of founding it on unanimity. There were no longer slaves, but there was an entire people condemned to see themselves governed by a handful of electoral dignitaries, and these electors alone were legal men. The masses were only masses sustaining the government without sharing in it. Such a government could not fail to become selfish — such masses could not fail to become disaffected.

Other great faults, produced by the natural intoxication of a mind which had commanded constant success, had contributed insensibly to alienate these masses from the throne. The people have not the science, but they have a confused perception of politics. It was soon seen that the nation was sacrificed to the interests of the strengthening and aggrandizement of the dynasty into our relations with foreign powers; that Louis Philippe degraded peace; that his alliance at whatever price with London sometimes gave him the attitude of an English viceroy on the continent; that the treaties of 1815, the natural but temporary reaction of the unjust conquests of the empire, would become, under his dynasty, the regular and definitive state of the continent for France; that England, Russia, Austria and Prussia, assuming annually immense dimensions on the seas, in the east, in Poland, in Italy, in Germany, on the lower Danube, beyond the Caucasus, and on the side of Turkey, — France, forbidden to increase on the sea, in territory and in influence, was proportionably diminishing in the family of nations, and found herself insensibly and comparatively reduced to the condition of a secondary power. The unuttered or articulated opinion of the masses also reproached the reign of Louis Philippe with betraying the revolution internally, by resuming one by one the traditions of the monarchy of divine right, instead of conforming to the democratic spirit of the elective monarchy of 1830.

### VIII.

A parliamentary oligarchy seemed to be the perfect ideal of this prince, formed in the school of British government. This oligarchy itself was deceived in the mechanism of government. A chamber of peers, without power of itself, and without independence, from the absence of the hereditary system, was but the shadow of a senate, the majority of which the king could, at any moment, control or modify, by creating new senators at will. A chamber of deputies full of public functionaries,

appointed or dismissed by ministers, sent back to the king only his own image as public opinion. Avowed corruption had become a power in the state. And finally, peace, which had been thus far the blessing and the virtue of this reign, was suddenly compromised by the ambitious and impolitic marriage of a son of the king, the Duke de Montpensier, with an eventual heiress of the crown of Spain.

This alliance, for a purely dynastic motive, severed the alliance with England, which the nation had supported impatiently, but still supported, on account of the great interests of humanity, the freedom of the seas, commerce and industry. On seeing this alliance suddenly thrown to the winds for the sake of family aggrandizement, France thought she recognized that there was nothing sincere but ambition in the condescension until then shown by her king to England; that, on the first occasion, her blood, her manufactures, her commerce, and her marine, would be tampered with, to establish a prince of the family of Orleans at Madrid, and that the peace system itself was only an hypocrisy of the government and a form of the dynastic egotism.

## IX.

From this day the king, rendered unpopular with the republican party by his throne, and unpopular with the legitimist party by his usurpation, was rendered unpopular with the pacific and government party, by the war with which the Spanish marriage menaced France. The king retained only a ministry, eloquent in parliament and agreeable at court, and two strong majorities in the two Chambers. The king thought himself invincible with this *personnel* of power in his hand; but he only grasped the mechanism, and, to make use of the expression, the vesture of the country. The nation was no longer there. Public opinion had escaped him.

The political men of the opposition, attached to the monarchical system, but impatient adversaries of the ministry, had been consuming themselves, for seven years, by bitter struggles in the tribune for the repossession of power.

M. Thiers was its soul, intelligence and word. Nature had formed him for the part of an agitator in the bosom of an assembly, rather than for the tribune of a people. He had more of Fox and Pitt than Mirabeau. His speeches, which had done so much to consolidate the monarchy of July during

its first years of feebleness, now served to uproot it in the esteem and heart of the nation. The republican party, too few in the Chamber to obtain a hearing, complacently applauded the biting and witty attacks directed by this orator against the crown. These aggressions, and these audacities of personal criticism, seemed to acquire a more ruinous weight of opposition, by borrowing the language of an old minister and old friend of royalty. Opposition, in the mouth of an adorer of the throne, assumed something of the character of sacrilege.

### X.

The constant, moderate, ever liberal and never personal opposition of M. Odilon Barrot, daily strengthened the honest and manly sentiment of liberty in the country, without so much degrading the consideration and authority of the throne. The legitimists, effacing their principles, and confining themselves to a war of disaffection and obstinate aspersion, possessed, in M. Berryer, one of those powerful-voiced orators whom Providence reserves as a consolation for the defeat of great causes.

M. Guizot, an author, orator and philosopher, was the statesman of the stationary monarchy. His character, his talent, his errors, even his sophistries, possessed antique proportions.

All these men live near us ; some still in active life — others in retirement and exile. It would be rash or base to judge them. Time has not placed them at an impartial and distant point of sight. Truth lies only in the distance. In drawing their characters now, we should hazard a want of respect for them, or of consideration for their position. It is enough at present simply to name them.

### XI.

The nation was calm upon the surface, but disturbed beneath. There was, as it were, a sort of remorse in its prosperity which did not permit its quiet enjoyment. She felt that, one by one, she was robbed, during her sleep, of all the philosophical truths of the revolution of '89 — that she was materialized to be deprived of the remembrance and the love of the moral and popular movements by which she had stirred the world, fifty years before. Her happiness seemed the price of apostasy. On the other hand, she was sensible of being humiliated and menaced in her national existence, by a policy which rendered



her too much the thrall of Europe. She aspired not to war, but she desired her liberty of action, of alliance, of principle, of proper influence in the world. She felt herself betrayed, not in fact, but in spirit, by the new dynasty, self-imposed in 1830. The king had too much of the father, and too little of the people.

Journalism, that daily symptom of the condition of a country, expressed, almost unanimously, this uneasiness of opinion. The press is the universal tribune. Men of great, immense and varied talent, speak, through its medium, with unyielding vigor and reserved audacity, to the people. Laws arrest only words—they bind not the spirit of oppositions and of factions. Writers of lofty doctrine, and transcendent controversial talent, have illustrated journalism from André Chénier, Camille Desmoulins, Mirabeau, Bonald, Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël, Chateaubriand, Thiers, Carrel, Guizot, to the present writers, the Bertins, the Sacys, the Girardins, the Marrasts, the Chambolles, and a brilliant host of writers, thinkers and *publicistes*, political economists and socialists, a new political generation, equal at least in talent, and superior in diversity, to the generation of journalists of the preceding period. These writers dispute the empire of minds.

The *Journal des Débats*, which sustains all governments in turn, as being the necessary expression of the most essential and permanent interest of society, seemed to be conducted by men matured in power. It had gravity, high tone, disdainful sarcasm, and sometimes also the poignant provocation of strength. It seemed to reign with monarchy itself, and to remember the empire. The names of all the great official writers, who were or had been employed as editors, from M. de Fontanes to M. Villemain, gave it a *prestige* of superiority over a periodical press younger in years and passion. The amplitude and impartiality of its parliamentary debates, its foreign correspondence, the certainty and universality of its information, made it the manual of all the courts and all the diplomacy of Europe. It was the daily note of the cabinet of the Tuileries. The sciences, high literature, philosophy, the stage, the arts and criticism, were there analyzed, reproduced and vivified in its *feuilletons*, where gravity was never onerous, and where futility itself was relieved by the wit of Aristophanes or of Sterne. It will have been the lot of few fugitive sheets to maintain their existence for a period of more than fifty years, and thus to form a portion, as it were, of the history of France.

The *Constitutionnel*, and the *Courrier Français*, had taken a great part in the strife of liberal opinion against the restoration. They had rendered the philosophy of the eighteenth century popular among the masses. Under the younger branch, they ceased to struggle with the dynasty, and only attacked the ministers and the majority of the chambers.

The newspaper, *La Presse*, founded more recently, had obtained in a few years a large space in public opinion. It was eclecticism applied to the times — liberalism without its revolutionary prejudices — constitutional monarchy without its ministerial servility. A man, with a style as adventurous as his mind, dared to utter whatever he thought, in this journal; now sustaining, now undermining, but always standing alone. His boldness at first astounded, but finally subdued public opinion. Even while reproving, the public were interested in the audacity of his pen. A woman, already rendered illustrious by her poetry, added her grace to this strength. Her letters on politics, manners and fashions, appeared every week at the close of the paper, signed by a conventional name. All France were in the secret. They read beneath this pseudonym a name already celebrated. This name only changed its *prestige* in becoming familiar by attic wit, eloquence and good sense.

*Le Siècle*, less lofty in tone and ideas than these two papers, had obtained an immense auditory among the busy world of town and country traders. It was supposed to derive its inspiration from the dynastic orators of the left. Rectitude and impartiality were its two means of success. It did more good than it made noise. It popularized the mind, and not the forms, of the republic. It commenced the education of that laboring class of the country, which needs a currency of ideas, stamped, and of moderate value, for its daily exchanges. M. Chambolle gave it the impress of an honest man, persevering and courageous in his moderation. The *Siècle*, in his hands, was the healthy democracy of opinion. It was more than a newspaper. It was the catechism of the constitution.

*La Gazette de France* represented less a party than a man. M. de Genoude, a man of a mind at once supple and imperious, bent to the times in the illusion of afterwards bending the times to his own view. Born into the political world with the restoration, a priest and citizen, the pupil and friend of the Bonnalds, the Lammenais, the Chateaubriands, and the Villèles, he was attached to the legitimacy of hereditary power,

as to a dogma of his conscience. States were, in his eyes, only families. He deceived himself — states are the people, and these people, their infancy once passed, are thenceforth subjected only to the tutelage of morality and reason. The family is mankind — the father is not the king, but God.

But M. de Genoude and his school, with a persevering artifice, accommodated this dogma to the spirit of the times. All of fecundity and stratagem that the activity of the man, the resources of the publicist, the address of the mind, the courage of the citizen, could display in behalf of a system, was multiplied by M. de Genoude in his journal. He undermined all the ministers, he remained isolated in his dogma and his individuality. He rejoiced at each fall, and prophesied each ruin. He possessed the infallibility of menace against all men and all things. Many discontented spirits, among those whom the age left in the rear, were delighted with this perpetual accusation of impotence, and this defiance addressed to the men of the dynasty. The most contrary branches of opposition lent their arms against the common enemy. The legitimists lent them to the republicans, and the republicans to the legitimists. M. de Genoude was no longer a man, he was a system. *La Gazette de France* was more than a journal, it was the Curse of the Dynasty.

## XII.

*Le National* was the organ of public opinion, the touchstone of the future revolution. Yet the republic being still but a distant presentiment to the masses, this paper did not have a great number of supporters in the country. It was read with a certain curiosity of mind which seeks to know what approaching events are in store, even if they appear the least probable products of the future. It was the prophetic satire, rather than the philosophy, of the republic. This journal confined itself to indefinite boundaries between the acceptance of monarchical government and a republican profession of faith. Sometimes it seemed to have too cordial an understanding with the purely dynastic opposition. In its opinions of tactics, it missed few opportunities of favoring the views and policy of M. Thiers. It was suspected of a private concert with the expectant minister of the dynasty, or, at least, of a favorable disposition to that party.

M. Marrast, the editor, was the serious and moderate Camille Desmoulins of the future republic. Never did facility,



elasticity, spontaneity, color, the southern air, the Gallic, or the Attic wit, adorned with more artificial ornaments the poniard of controversy in the hands of a careless Aristophanes. His mind was the unexpected lightning which burns and threatens at the same time, sporting in spires of flame at all points of the horizon; so capricious and so skilful, that he amused himself by dazzling the very men he was about to strike. But the genius of this style was mischief and not hatred. Never did a sanguinary figure, a ghastly souvenir, or a fatal provocation, sadden his pages. A mind full of impartiality and perhaps scepticism was perceived beneath this talent. The pleasure of the political artist instead of the sombre fanaticism of the sectary, the horror of the vulgar, the loathing of jacobinism, the dread of proscriptions, the taste for literature, eloquence, tolerance, and glory, with liberty, formed the republican ideal of M. Marrast. His revolution was the intellectual sport of a man of imagination and the kind heart of a woman.

Another journal for some time occupied a narrow but threatening position in public opinion, opposed to the *National*. This was *La Réforme*. This journal represented the extreme left, the incorruptible revolution, the democratic revolution at any price. It passed for a personification of the political inspirations of M. Ledru Rollin, and three or four important deputies of the Chamber. It was the tradition of the Convention, renewed fifty years after the battles and revenge of the Convention; the Mountain with its thunders and its furies in the midst of a period of peace and calm; the accents of Danton in a political academy; a fanciful terror, a systematic rage; a jacobinism dug up from the hearts of the dead of 1794; an antagonistic idea to the future republic, wishing to remodel it, under totally different circumstances, in the image of the former republic.

In order to stir up the people more deeply, and to recruit all the men of action, against the day of the republic, *La Réforme* sometimes touched on what is called Socialism. That is to say, that, without adhering to any of the radically subversive and renovating sects of society, such as St. Simonism, Fourierism, Organization of Labor, or Communism, *La Réforme* fulminated anathemas against existing society, and, in the political revolution, showed a glimpse of a revolution of wages, labor, and property.

But more commonly, this paper, repudiating chimeras, con-

fined its political opposition to direct and mortal attacks against royalty.

It was habitually edited by M. Flocon, a bold man of strong mind, honest even in the war of opinion he waged against his enemies. M. Flocon was one of those republicans of the first race, who had hardened their faith in secret societies, conspiracies, and dungeons. Cold in his exterior, rude in look and language, yet with a keen smile, plain and sober in expression, there was something of Roman rusticity in his person, his will, and his style. But beneath this bark, there was a heart incapable of bending to fear, though always ready to yield to pity. He had more than one administrative quality; a rare thing with men who have grown up in habits of opposition. He knew what he wished. He would have it at all costs, he would have it to the uttermost, but he would not go beyond that limit. In a word, he knew how to stop at what appeared to him right, possible, and reasonable, and he knew how to turn back to defend the limits of his idea against his own friends. That is to say, that, beneath the conspirator, there was always the man of action in M. Flocon.

### XIII.

A sort of tacit coalition between all the parties represented by these journals, as well as by other eminent organs, of more shadowy opinions, such as the *Courrier Français*, the *Démocratie Pacifique*, and the *Commerce*, was formed against the ministry of M. Guizot. At the close of the session of 1847, they had concerted together a plan for a general agitation of Paris and its departments, under the form of political banquets. The initiative of this agitation had been taken by the dynastic opposition, as if with these men, united and ambitious of power, impatience had been a sharper and blinder passion than even the logic of the republicans.

Still M. Thiers did not seem to trust his person in the midst of this agitation. Was it that his prescience as a statesman and an historian showed him its dangers from afar? Perhaps, also, his position as future minister, after the triumph of his friends, imposed on him a reserve which he had the courage to maintain gallantly against his own party.

M. Duerger de Hauranne, — an old friend of M. Guizot, and a new friend of M. Thiers, excited in the midst of strife, and disinterested after victory, a man of an eminently parliamentary

turn, prouder of agitating than of ruling, without any other desire than that of influence, a true and courageous patriot, serious in glory, honest in ambition, — drew the friends of M. Thiers and M. Barrot, and the latter gentleman himself, into this movement. The watchword was electoral reform.

#### XIV.

The party of the *National* and that of the *Réforme* perceived, with the clear-sightedness of passion, the tendency of this measure of the banquets, a desperate and revolutionary measure adopted by the dynastic opposition. The republicans, too weak in numbers, and too strongly suspected in opinion, to dare and to act alone, were to have for auxiliaries the very friends of the dynasty, the founders of the throne of July, the authors of the repressive laws, and at least half of the national guard and the electors. Where would the country halt when once in motion? Would it be at a simple change of ministry? Would it be at an insignificant addition of privileged electors to the two hundred thousand electors, who, of themselves, expressed the sovereignty of the people? — Would it be at an abdication of the king? — Would it be at the regency of a woman, or a prince, during the minority of a child? It mattered little. All these eventualities would help their cause.

They hastened to subscribe to the banquet of Paris. The men of the dynastic opposition dared not repulse the republicans. They would have repulsed in them all the throng, all the noise, all the turbulence, all the menace of their demonstrations. The people would be alienated by not seeing among them their friends and tribunes. The cause appeared to be common. The cry was the same cry, *Vive la Réforme*.

A somewhat Punic coalition was achieved in 1839, by antagonistic opposition in the Chamber and the press, between M. Guizot and M. Thiers, M. Barrot and M. Berryer, M. Dufaure and M. Garnier Pagès, the republicans and the royalists. This coalition had done violence to the constitutional king, placed M. Thiers in power, humbled the sincere opposition, ruined our foreign affairs in 1840, and demoralized the representative government. The same parties, with the exception of M. Berryer and M. Dufaure, committed the same fault against the ministry of M. Guizot in 1848. They united to overthrow, without power of union to reconstruct. Coalitions of this nature can logically produce only ruins. It is their impo-



tence for good which makes them immoral. Revolutions alone can profit by them. And rightfully they profit by them. The republic is the voluntary work of the parliamentary coalition of 1840, and of the agitation coalition of 1848; M. Guizot and M. Thiers, in forming the first, Messieurs Duvergier de Hauranne, Barrot, and their friends, in forming the second, were unwittingly the real authors of the republic.

The banquet of Paris was the signal for a series of opposition banquets in the principal cities of the kingdom. In some, the republican and dynastic agitators were united, and concealed, with vague and elastic expressions, the incongruities of their programme. In some others, as at Lille, Dijon, Châlons, and Autun, they separated frankly. M. Odilon Barrot and his friends, and M. Ledru Rollin and his, refused to lend themselves to a hypocritical concert. Each moved towards his object, one to the moderate and monarchical reform of the electoral law, and the other to the radical reform of government, in other words, the republic.

This schism first characterized the banquet of Lille. M. Barrot refused to take a seat there until a sign of constitutional adhesion to the monarch, in the form of a toast to the king, was given. This decision was still further defined at Dijon, and at Châlons. M. Flocon and M. Ledru Rollin there made speeches, the precursors of a revolution already accomplished in the minds of their partisans.

A few men of the parliamentary opposition, of isolated opinions, such as Messieurs Thiers, Dufaure, and Lamartine, scrupulously abstained from appearing at these banquets. These confused and turbulent demonstrations doubtless seemed to them, either not to reach or to go beyond the limits of their opposition. They feared to associate themselves by their presence, the latter to a revolution, the former to an ambitious and purely ministerial opposition. They thus, like many other members of the Chamber, wrapped themselves in their conscience and their individuality.

## XV.

Still another banquet created a strong sensation in France at the same period. This was the banquet offered to M. de Lamartine, on his return from the Chamber, by his fellow-citizens of Mâcon. The object of this banquet was not political. M. de Lamartine had refused to be present at the reform

banquets, which were, according to him, too vague and indefinite in their object. Opposed to the parliamentary coalition of 1838 and 1840, he could not, without falsifying himself, associate himself with the parliamentary and agitating coalition of 1847. He moved onward to an end determined in his own mind. It was not in his nature to throw himself into a *mêlée* of opposition without a common chart, to move with adversaries towards an unknown object. He had frankly expressed this reserve in articles in the *Bien Public* of Mâcon, a small journal, loudly echoed and reëchoed by all the press of Paris and the departments.

The object of the banquet of Mâcon was to congratulate M. de Lamartine, who was fraternally loved by his fellow-citizens, on the success of the History of the *Girondins*, which M. de Lamartine had recently published.

The book had been much read, not only in France, but throughout all Europe. In Germany, Italy, and Spain, editions and translations of the *Histoire des Girondins* were multiplied as the daily aliment of souls. It moved hearts, it induced minds to reflect, it carried back the imagination towards that great epoch and those great principles which the 18th century, rich in presages, and laden with the future, wished to bequeath in dying to the world, to deliver it from tyranny and prejudice. He washed away the blood criminally shed by the anger, ambition or baseness of the actors in the drama of the republic. He flattered none of the demagogues, he excused nothing in the executioners, he compassionated all in the victims. But his pity for the vanquished did not blind him. He commiserated the men, he wept for the women, he adored philosophy and liberty. The stream of blood from the scaffolds did not hide from him the holy truths which rose upon the future from behind the smoke of the execrable holocaust. He courageously swept away the cloud. He punished the murderers historically. He restored its right and its innocence to the new idea purged of the crimes of its followers, he avenged it for the crime which had sullied under pretext of serving it. He returned opprobrium on the demagogues, glory on the revolution.

## XVI.

In reply to an address of the Mayor of Mâcon, M. Roland, a young man who dared to compromise his official station by acknowledging his opinions and political friendship, M. de

Lamartine seized the opportunity of revealing once more his thoughts to his country. He spoke like a man devoted, soul and heart, to the cause of the liberty of the human race, and the progress of organized democracy.

"Fellow-citizens and friends," said he, "before replying to the impatience which you testify, permit me, in the first place, to thank you for the patience and fortitude which have enabled you, standing unmoved, to resist the fury of the storm, the blaze of the lightning, and the peals of thunder, under this crumbling roof and these torn tents. You show that you are indeed the children of those Gauls who exclaimed, in yet more serious circumstances, that if the arch of heaven should cave in they would sustain it on their lance-points.

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"But, gentlemen, let us go at once to the bottom of this demonstration. My book required an ending, and you have made one. The end is that France feels at once the necessity of studying the spirit of her revolution, of plunging again into her principles, purified and separated from the excesses which disfigure them, and the blood which soiled them, and deriving from the past lessons for the present and the future.

"Yes, to seek, after half a century, beneath the yet warm ashes of events, beneath the still stirring dust of the dead, the primitive and, I hope, immortal spark which kindled in the soul of a great people that ardent flame with which the whole world was first enlightened, then embraced, then partially consumed; to rekindle, I say, this flame, too feeble in the heart of the generations which succeed us, to cherish it, lest it should forever fade, and leave France and Europe a second time in the obscurity of the dark ages; to watch over it and purify it also, lest its light should degenerate by compression, even into explosion, conflagration, and ruin — this is the idea of the book! this is the idea of the time! Will you deny me if I add — and this is your idea?" (*No! no!*)

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"From the age of political reason, that is to say, from the age when we form our own opinions, after having stammered, like children, the opinions and prejudices of our nurses, I said to myself — What, then, is the French revolution?

"Is the French revolution, as the adorers of the past say, a great sedition of a nation disturbed for no reason, and destroying, in their insensate convulsions, their church, their monarchy, their classes, their institutions, their nationality, and even



rending the map of Europe? No! the revolution has not been a miserable sedition of France; for a sedition subsides as it rises, and leaves nothing but corpses and ruins behind it. The revolution has left scaffolds and ruins, it is true; therein is its remorse: but it has also left a doctrine; it has left a spirit which will be enduring and perpetual so long as human reason shall exist.

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"The first dogma of the beneficent revolution which this philosophy would give prevalence to in the world is peace! the extinction of international animosities, the fraternity of nations. We are approaching this condition—we enjoy peace. I am not among those who reject even the blessings of the governments they assail. For the future, peace will be, according to me, the glorious amnesty of this government to balance its other errors. As historian or deputy, man or philosopher, I shall always sustain peace, with or against government, and you will always think with me. War is but wholesale murder,—wholesale murder is not progress." (*Prolonged applause.*)

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"Ah! if we continue for a few years more to abandon, through our own inconstancy, all the ground gained by French ideas, let us beware! We must not then desert nor leave shamefully behind us not only all progress, all intelligence, all the conquests of the modern intellect; not only our name, our honor, our intellectual rank, and our initiative influence upon nations; but the memory and blood of the thousands of men, combatants or victims, who have died to make these victories good to us! The savage tribes of America say to the European invaders who would drive them from their native soil: 'If you would have us give place to you, at least suffer us to carry off the bones of our fathers!' The bones of *our* fathers are the truths, the intelligence they have conquered from the world, which a reaction of opinion, always on the increase, but destined finally to terminate, would compel us to repudiate.

"But once again, will they succeed? Let us examine. History teaches everything, even the future. Experience is the only prophecy of wise men!

"And, in the first place, let us not be too much alarmed at reactions. They are the movement, the ebb and flow, of the human mind. Permit me to make use of an illustration borrowed from those instruments of war which many of you have

handled, on the land and on the ocean, during the conflicts of liberty. When pieces of cannon have been discharged, and belched their contents on our fields of battle, they experience, from the very revulsion of their explosion, a movement which forces them back. This is what artillerists call the recoil of the cannon. Well, political reactions are nothing but this recoil of guns in artillery. Reactions are the recoil of ideas. It seems as if the human mind, stunned, as it were, by the new truths which revolutions accomplished in its name have launched upon the world, falls back and retires basely from the ground which it has conquered. But this is only a temporary movement. Gentlemen, other hands return to reload this pacific artillery of the human mind, and new discharges, not of balls, but of ideas, restore their empire to truths which seem to have been abandoned or subdued.

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"We will not, therefore, give ourselves much concern respecting the duration of these reactions, but will examine what comes to pass when they have achieved their irregular and retrograde movement. In my opinion, it is the following:—

"If the royalty, nominally monarchical, but really democratic, adopted by France in 1830, understands that it is only the sovereignty of the people seated above the electoral tempests, and crowned in the person of an individual, to represent the summit of public affairs, the unity and perpetuity of national power; if modern royalty, delegated by the people, and so widely differing from ancient royalty, the property of the throne, regards itself as a magistracy adorned by a title which has changed its meaning in the language of mankind; if it confines to being an honored regulator of the mechanism of government, marking and controlling the efforts of the general will, without ever constraining, changing, falsifying, or corrupting them in their source, which is opinion; if it content itself with being, in its own eyes, like the tablets of old demolished temples which the ancients replaced as evidence in the construction of new temples, to deceive the superstitious homage of the crowd, and impress something of traditionary antiquity on the modern edifice; representative royalty will last long enough to accomplish its work of preparation and business, and the duration of its services will be to our children the exact measure of the duration of its existence." (Yes! yes!)

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"But let us hope better of the wisdom of governments enlightened, too late perhaps, but in time, we trust, for their own interests. Let us hope better of the probity and energy of the public mind, which seems for a long time to have entertained presentiments of fear or safety! May the presentiments which we ourselves feel be warnings, and not menaces, to the public authorities! We are not inspired by the spirit of faction! No factious idea enters our thoughts. We do not wish to compose a faction—we compose opinion, for it is nobler, stronger, and more invincible. (*Yes! yes!*) Well, gentlemen, symptoms of improvement in public opinion strike me, and will perhaps strike you.

"Who shall decide between these two parties? Who shall be the judge? Shall we have, as in our first struggles, violence, oppression and death? No, gentlemen! let us give thanks to our fathers—it shall be liberty which they have bequeathed to us, liberty which now has its own arms, its pacific arms, to develop itself without anger and excess. (*Applause.*)

"Therefore shall we triumph—be sure of it!

"And if you ask what is the moral force which shall bend the government beneath the will of the nation, I will answer you; it is the sovereignty of ideas, the royalty of mind, the republic, the true republic of intelligence, in one word—opinion—that modern power whose very name was unknown to antiquity. Gentlemen, public opinion was born on the very day when Gutenberg, whom I have styled *the artificer of a new world*, invented, by printing, the multiplication and indefinite communication of thought and human reason. This incompressible power of opinion needs not for its sway either the brand of vengeance, the sword of justice, or the scaffold of terror. It holds in its hands the equilibrium between ideas and institutions, the balance of the human mind. In one of the scales of this balance—understand it well—will be for a long time placed, mental superstitions, prejudices self-styled useful, the divine right of kings, distinctions of right among classes, international animosities, the spirit of conquest, the venal alliance of church and state, the censorship of thought, the silence of tribunes, and the ignorance and systematic degradation of the masses.

"In the other scale, we ourselves, gentlemen, will place the lightest and most impalpable thing of all that God has created—light, a little of that light which the French revolution evolved at the close of the last century, from a volcano, doubtless, but from a volcano of truth." (*Prolonged applause.*)

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## XVII.

This address, reproduced on the following day by all the papers, sufficiently expressed the actual ideas of the country; a vague discontent generated by the system of the crown, which externally sacrificed the legitimate interests of France to the ambition of the Orleans dynasty; a philosophical and rational love of democratic principles surrendered to an oligarchy confined to two or three hundred thousand electors, easily conquered or corrupted by the ministry; a sincere and almost universal dread of a revolution which would plunge the country into an uncertain future; the desire of having the progress of the democratic principle accomplished by an enlarged and strengthened representative government, and an appeal to moderate energy on the part of the people, and to prudence and reflection on the part of the government. This discourse did not transcend the limits which the conscience of the orator imposed on him. The fruits and promises of the first revolution without a new revolution, if possible, but the spirit of the revolution preserved and vivified by institutions, on pain of shame for France, and pain of death for the ideas which make up the grandeur and sanctity of the human mind, — such was the faithful interpretation of the public sentiment, the prophetic cry of the national soul. All which went beyond this language went beyond the times.

## XVIII.

M. de Lamartine, without fearing to compromise the popularity which he then enjoyed in his department, and in France, had the courage, a few days afterwards, to contend boldly against the doctrines which M. Ledru Rollin and his friends had expressed at the revolutionary banquet of Dijon, the symbols, as they said, of 1793, planted by the same party at the banquet of Châlons, and the anti-social predictions for which a young orator had secured applause at the Communist banquet of Autun.

"These banquets," said M. de Lamartine, alluding to those of Dijon and Châlons, "are the tocsin of opinion. Sometimes they strike fairly, at other times they break the metal. There are, in these manifestations, words which make the earth tremble, and reminiscences which recall what the present democracy ought to obliterate. Why tear from a period the things

which ought to be buried with the period itself? Why these imitations, we might almost say, these parodies, of 1793? Has liberty a livery, as there was a livery of courts? For my part, I assert that this is not only a puerility, but an absurdity. The intelligent and sensible democracy of the future is thus disguised in the semblance and color of the democracy of the past. This disguises the public mind, and, in thus disguising, renders it undistinguishable. This cruelly recalls to some the pique through which their fathers perished; to others, their alienated property; to others yet, their desecrated temples; to all, the days of sadness, mourning and terror, which left a shadow on the land. Every epoch should be consistent with itself. We are not in 1793; we are in 1847; that is to say, we are a nation which has crossed the *Red Sea*, and which would not recross it anew; a nation which has set foot upon the shore, and would still move onward, but which would advance in order and peace to democratic institutions; a nation which would warn its mistaken government, but which, in raising its voice to make it audible, would terrify neither peaceful citizens, nor honest interests, nor legitimate opinions. Let us, members of the regular democracy, be wary. If we are confounded with demagogues, we shall be ruined in public opinion. It will be said of us—'They wear their livery, hence they have their madness!'

## XIX.

In regard to the Communist banquet of Autun, M. de Larmatine, on the 14th of November, expressed himself with the same freedom:

"Each idea has its limits," cried he, "limits which it must not pass, on pain of being misconstrued, and of bearing the just penalty of its disguise by submitting to the disgrace which is attached to other ideas. Do you belong to the democratic, but loyal, moderate and patient opposition? Come with us. Are you factious? Go and conspire in darkness. Are you Communists? Go and applaud at the banquet of Autun. Until all this matter is cleared up, we will remain where we are. For we would recall the country to political life, give due weight to public opinion, create a decent democracy, capable of self-enlightenment, of restraining itself by its own dignity, of meeting without alarming or insulting wealth, or misery, or aristocracy, or bourgeoisie, or the people, or religion, or family,

or property; in fine, we would prepare for France assemblies worthy of its own great National Assemblies, and comitia worthy of Athens and Rome; but we would not reöpen the *Club of Jacobins!*"

## XX.

During these controversies between men who wished to improve and men who wished to destroy, other manifestations, inspired and directed by royalist ideas, were multiplying in the north of the kingdom. There M. Odilon Barrot obtained a hearing for language grave, thoughtful and sincere, but reserved, like his own character. He, as well as his friends, kindled the flame of parliamentary opposition. Still these addresses raised more indignation against the government than a banquet-hall could contain. The people listened at the doors, applauded the orators, and escorted them at their entrance or departure from towns. They were accustomed to place themselves between ministers and tribunes. By the end of autumn the promoters of these anti-ministerial feelings in vain essayed to moderate them. They had set out to swell the strength of M. Thiers, M. Barrot, and the opposition; they had been recruiting for the revolution. The impulse of the people always goes beyond the goal assigned by politicians. Reason or ambition calculate—passion inundates. The people are always the embodiment of passion. The dynastic opposition merely wished a change of ministers to be effected by the pressure of masses; the people were already planning a change of government. Behind the people, the most radical sects dreamed of a complete overthrow of society.



## BOOK II.

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### I.

SUCH was the mental condition of France at the close of 1847, when the king convoked the Chambers. The ministry and the king, astonished but not alarmed at these demonstrations of opinion, which they regarded as purely factious, as a verbal and ostentatious discontent, which, in their opinion, had no actual existence in the minds of men, confided in the immense majority possessed by the government in the Chambers, in the fidelity of an army commanded by the princes, and in the innumerable interests of order, property, industry, and commerce, which were all repugnant to a change. A material government, they despised the intellectual elements of opposition. In their view, M. Odilon Barrot was only a man gifted with eloquence, but devoid of will; M. Ledru Rollin, a man of noisy popularity, employing the threat of a republic, without believing in it, to discountenance and mislead the opposition; the press and the banquets were only a conspiracy of ambitious men, appealing to the passions of the public streets to avenge their impotence in the popular representation.

M. Guizot was encouraged by the self-confidence and disdain of the vulgar which formed the basis of his nature; M. Duchâtel, by his skilful management of parliamentary parties, and the curb of the votes which he held in his supple hands; and the king, by his importance to France in 1830, by his bargain with the European authorities, who confided in the stability of his throne, and, finally, by the constant smile of fortune, which, by dint of serving and dazzling, ended by blinding him. These three men, in whom rested the *prestige*, the strength and skill of the cabinet, expected, with unyielding confidence, that all this movement and noise of opposition would perish at the foot of the throne and the tribune, before the eloquence of M. Guizot, the tactics of M. Duchâtel, and the ancient authority of the king. They did not doubt that the majority in the two Chambers would pronounce a conspicu-

ous denunciation against the agitation and the threats of parties. They resolved themselves to provoke this denunciation, by alluding, in the address of the king to the Chambers, to the conduct of the deputies and peers who had been present at the reform banquets.

## II.

The address of the king to the Chambers contained a phrase which designated the associates of the reform banquets as hostile or blind. There were many of them in the Chamber of Deputies, and some in the Chamber of Peers. These imprudent words served as the leading text in the discussion of the address. It was warm, keen, and angry. M. Thiers stigmatized the foreign policy which surrendered Italy and Switzerland. M. de Lamartine depicted, from his point of view, the exclusively dynastic policy; Austrian at Rome, priestly at Berne, Russian at Cracovia, and everywhere counter-revolutionary. On the question of the banquets, M. Odilon Barrot spoke with the authority of a constitutional leader of the opposition. Lamartine, though he was not personally associated with the banquets, maintained that the ministry ought to regulate, and not brutally suppress, the exercise of the right of meeting.

"No, gentlemen," he replied to the ministers, "you deceive yourselves; here is no artificial agitation, as you describe it. This furnace is not fanned by the breath of man. It would not have had this universality and this character which alarm you justly now. Whence comes this phenomenon in a country which has been patient for seventeen years? This phenomenon is generated, because the nation has at last estimated the obstinacy of the false system by which it has been dragged beyond all its interior lines, beyond its whole policy, dignity, and even safety, to the exterior. But now, when, after having maturely reflected, it has finally adopted its convictions; when it has seen this obstinate system of interior legal restriction, of an actual oligarchy, established in the place of the great regular democracy promised by 1830; when it has seen this system changing hands without changing measures — still the same things under different men; when it has seen corruption ascending this year, like an impure wave, to the very foot of public power, the scum of the most sordid vices rising to the surface of political society, instead of sinking, as it commonly does, to the lees of nations; when it has seen the foreign policy of the

last eighteen years, a policy to which you had yourselves laboriously and nobly attached it, the policy of peace, suddenly sapped by your own hands, for a family advantage, a dynastic interest, by Spanish marriages; when it has witnessed the sacrifices of its natural and constitutional alliances to repugnant alliances with the oppressive enemies of Switzerland and Italy; when it has finally seen France systematically, as it were, involved by you in a cordon of counter-revolutions, then indeed has it been agitated; and it has shown, by its very emotion, that it is a wise and prudent country.

"And what would you have thought, what would you have said, if, instead of manifesting this anxiety and agitation in broad day-light, it had waited, in perfidious silence, till the seeds of disaffection, sown by you through so many years, had germinated in the minds of the people; and that, on a given day, instead of this constitutional agitation, instead of this opinion which finds open utterance, you had had mines exploding everywhere beneath the feet of government? Then you might have brought accusations; then you might have said, You act like factious men and conspirators — you deceive the government by hiding in perfidious silence the discontent of public opinion. This is what you condemn — and for this you threaten, not to employ those evident laws to which every good citizen pays obeisance, but, without laws, with at least equivocal laws, — shall I say against all existing laws? — you menace the representatives themselves with placing the hand of the police on the lips of the nation!

"The government had, and has yet, the arm of the law. Knowing that it was not armed by former legislation against a new fact presented with this universality and intensity throughout the country, it might present a liberal and regulating law, establishing but not annihilating the right; a law which we will discuss loyally, and to which, when it shall have been enacted, we will yield obedience, as every good citizen is bound to do."

The great majority of the Chamber applauded his words, and asked for the presentation of a law on the right of assembling (*réunion*). The conservatives themselves felt the danger of the prolonged defiance of the ministers to the representatives. "Remember that you are about to create a great peril," were the closing words of Lamartine to the ministers. "Remember the Tennis Court and its consequences. What was the Tennis Court of Versailles in 1789? The Tennis Court



was only a place for the political meetings of the States General, closed by ministers, and opened by the hand of the nation to the outraged representatives of the country."

In opposition to M. Duvergier de Hauranne and M. Barrot, M. Guizot maintained the right of the government and the Chamber to repel attack by attack, and to specify the hostility or the blindness of the agitators. M. Hébert, Keeper of the Seals, demonstrated with ability the danger of meetings without legal repression. He was for a revival of the laws of 1791. He rendered the debate more acrimonious by exaggerating the arbitrary view of the question. M. Ledru Rollin replied to him with a fire and vigor which placed him in the front rank of the opposition orators. The anger of both parties was inflamed. A diversion was necessary to the passion of the Chamber — an honorable issue from the conflict. This diversion was evidently in the presentation of a rational law on the liberty and limits of the right of assembly. The conservatives themselves, together with Messieurs Duvergier de Hauranne and Lamartine, demanded this law. The ministry were obstinate. A revolution was about to cut the knot which Prudence refused to disentangle.

### III.

The 12th arrondissement of Paris had arranged a banquet. The opposition had promised to verify the right by its presence, and the banquet was to take place on the 20th of February. The ministry did not oppose it by force. They merely proposed to certify the offence by a commissary of police, and to try the question by the courts of law. The opposition was unanimous for accepting the judicial debate on this ground. Everything was prepared for this peaceable demonstration.

On the eve of it, the ministry, disturbed by a summons addressed to the National Guards, without arms, by the impatient republicans, declared at the tribune that they retracted their concessions, and would disperse the manifestation by force.

M. Barrot summoned the constitutional opposition to his house to deliberate.

It was proposed to keep aloof from the extreme resolution of the government, and M. Barrot and his friends yielded to this counsel.

On the next day a second deliberation took place at a restorator's in the Place de la Madeleine, and M. de Lamartine, M.

Berryer, and M. de Laroche-jacquelin were invited to attend. They went thither. About two hundred deputies of all complexions of moderate opposition were present. The course to be pursued was discussed. The discussion was long, varied and embarrassing, and no firm or worthy decision was reached in any quarter. If the opposition receded, it would destroy itself, dishonor its name, and lose its moral influence over the nation. It would pass under the Caudine yoke of the ministry. If it persisted, it would incur the risk of conquering too much, and giving victory to the party which desired — what it feared — a revolution. But revolution for revolution, the risk of an advanced revolution seemed more acceptable to certain minds than a backward revolution. The debate was prolonged. Lamartine, though opposed to the agitation of the banquets, like MM. Thiers and Dufaure, could not tolerate the humiliation of a retreat discreditable to liberal opinions. He suddenly replied to M. Berryer, who had made an admirable but indefinite protest.

“In listening to the Honorable M. Berryer,” said he, “who had just disclosed to you so frankly and so eloquently his noble soul, I appreciate too well his hesitation as a worthy man, his patriotic anxiety, and his mental efforts to discover justice, truth and light in the terrible crisis in which the madness of an aggressive ministry places all good citizens, whatever national opinion they embrace. I recognize my own thoughts in his, I find my own heart in his.

“I, too, like him, like all of you, have meditated on the most honorable, the most national, the most prudent, and the same time the firmest part to be taken in the cruel alternative in which we are, as it were, imprisoned by circumstances. And I, too, have perceived the combinations of different parties, rendering our present and future difficulties more complicated. I, too, have noticed some gaps in our ranks since the time is approaching, but I have not stopped there. Of what import to us is the absence of men in crises of this nature? I never inquire where such and such men are. I only ask what the rights of my country are.

“We are told that the crisis is important, and the circumstances stringent, and may be fraught with very dangerous responsibility for the firm men who lead it on in the name of their country. Gentlemen, I am more convinced of this than the speakers; it would be blindness not to see these dangers, and weakness to disguise them from you. The crowd are

always in danger, even when they have assembled in the most just and legitimate sentiment of their duties and their rights. We know it; we know the truthful saying of antiquity: 'Whoever assembles the people agitates them by the very convocation.' Yes, the political horizon, the near horizon, the horizon of this very week, is loaded with cares and eventualities, at which my mind has paused, and paused, like you. Yes, I have reflected, and at this moment am still reflecting, in cruel perplexity, in the presence of myself and of you. Yes, in the midst of a doubt so onerous for our responsibility as men of character and feeling, I do not consult my intelligence only. I go deeper into myself; I strike my breast, I interrogate my conscience before the Supreme Judge of intentions and acts, and thus put the question on which you are deliberating." (*Sensation.*)

"What is our situation?

"We are placed, by the provocation of the government, between shame and danger.

"This is the appropriate title of our position. I know it, and your assent shows me I am perfectly correct." (*Yes! yes!*)

"We are placed between shame and peril." (*Assent.*)

"Shame, gentlemen! Perhaps we shall be generous enough, great enough, devoted enough, to accept it for ourselves. Yes, I feel that, for my part, I should accept it—I would accept my thousandth or my hundred thousandth portion of shame; I would accept it blushing, but blushing proudly to prevent, at this cost, an accidental commotion from shaking the soil; a single drop of the generous blood of a French citizen from staining only one pavement of Paris!

"I feel myself, and you all feel yourselves, capable of this sacrifice. Yes, shame be our portion rather than a drop of blood be shed by the people or the troops, on our responsibility.

"But the shame of our country, gentlemen? The shame of the cause of constitutional liberty? The shame of the character and rights of the nation? No, no, no—we cannot, we must not, either in honor or conscience, accept it. The character, the rights, and the honor of the nation, are not ours—they are vested in the French name. We have no right to traffic with that which does not belong to us.

"And what shall we say, on our return to our departments, to those who have confided to us the defence of their rights and the care of their dignity as a free people? What would be our attitude, what would be our part, before them? What!



We have enjoyed with them, on the faith of custom and the right of assemblage common to all free people, on the faith of the restoration, on the faith of the ministers of the revolution of July themselves, who gave us the example, this legal right of political assemblage; we have authorized, by our presence, or, like myself, by our consent, if not by our presence, those pacific meetings in which constitutional opinions were heard from the lips of deputies or authorities; we have encouraged the citizens to practise constitutionally, wisely, and moderately, this right of public emotion; we have said to them, if you are attacked in this right, we will defend it, we will save it for you, we will bring it back to you entire, or at least invested with the securities and rules which the law alone has the power of providing for the regulation of its exercise.

"Yes, we have told them this; and now, basely yielding, not to a law which I myself demanded of the Chamber, but to the capricious and arrogant injunction of a minister, promulgated from the height of the tribune, should we accept his arbitrary interdiction for law? Should we yield to him, without legal evidence of our resistance to force? Should we surrender our constitutional arms to arbitrary power? Should we abandon our obligations, and what we believe to be a fundamental guarantee? Should we give up both liberty and the nation? Should we, without at least a record of the spoliation, suffer the nation to be plundered of that liberty which is the guarantee of all the others, the liberty of opinion? Then we should go back to our cities and our departments and say to our constituents—'See what we have brought you back from the legal battle-field whither you sent us to fight for you: the wrecks of your constitution—the ruins of your liberty of opinion—the arbitrary fiat of a minister instead of a national right!'

"'We have placed the neck of France under the foot of a minister.'" (*Acclamations.*)

"No! no! this is impossible. We should be no longer men—this would be no longer a nation. We should instantly give in our resignations, and disappear and wither in the popular contempt." (*Renewed acclamations.*)

"But do not think," continued he, "that these words contain a wretched feeling of personal pride; I repeat it, the neglect, the degradation of ourselves, is nothing; but to wither and degrade our country—there is the shame, there the crime, there the infamy, which we cannot accept.

"Gentlemen, let us speak calmly—the moment demands it.

The question between the government and ourselves is weighty. Let us know thoroughly what we would accomplish on Tuesday for France. Is it sedition? No. Is it a revolution? No. May God avert, as long as possible, that necessity from our country. What is it, then? An act of faith and national will in the omnipotence of the legal right of a great country. For fifty years, gentlemen, France has often, too often, too impetuously, perhaps, enacted revolutionary deeds. She has not yet performed one great national act by her citizens. It is an act of citizens which we would accomplish for her; an act of legal resistance against arbitrary measures, which hitherto she has not known how to oppose, by constitutional means, and with no other arms than her attitude and will." (*Yes! yes!*)

"It is, then, a civic act we would perform, in which France is to be our witness in the eyes of the people of Paris. Let us understand for once how to guard, save, and strengthen by such an act, by an unshaken and calm attitude, by an appeal to the justice and not to the violence of the country; let us understand for once how to guard what we have known how to conquer so often, but never to preserve!" (*Assent.*)

"There are dangers in the execution of this act? Who denies it? But have not the abjuration of its rights by the nation, the acceptance of arbitrary power, the encouragement of attempts at ministerial usurpation, the abasement of the national character before all governments, have these not their dangers also?

"Dangers? Speak not so much of them. You will deprive us of the coolness requisite to prevent them; you will tempt us to brave them! It will not depend on ourselves to remove them from this manifestation, by all the moderation, reserve and prudence of word and action, counselled by your committee. The rest is no longer in our hands, gentlemen; the rest is in the hands of God. He alone can infuse the spirit of order and peace into that people which will press forward in crowds to witness the pacific and conservative manifestation of her institutions. Let us pray him to give this token of protection to the cause of liberty and the progress of nations, and to prevent all fatal collision between the armed and the unarmed citizens. Let us hope, let us implore all the citizens that it may be so. Let us abandon the rest to Providence, and the responsibility of the government which alone provokes and produces the necessity of this dangerous manifestation. I know not if the arms confided to our brave soldiers will all be managed

by judicious hands. I think and hope so; but if the bayonets should rend the law, if the muskets should have balls, I know this, gentlemen, that we shall defend, with our voices first, and our bosoms afterwards, the institutions and the future of the people; and that these balls must pierce our bosoms to tear from them the rights of our country. Let us deliberate no longer — let us act."

IV.

Such were the words of De Lamartine. Enthusiasm rather than reflection drew them from him. Lamartine had, till then, carried his scruples to the point of blaming severely the agitation of the banquets, as an invitation to revolution. At the last moment he seemed to change his tone. It is true that it was no longer a question of a reform banquet, but the right of legal assemblages, the point being contested with the deputies by the ministry, who employed open force. The strife between every shade of opposition and the government was personified in this political duel. Lamartine thought he saw both honor and opposition involved in it, and ruin if they recoiled after having been advanced so far. The opposition of the left centre was growing weak. In becoming weak it would drag down in its retreat all the other opposition forces compromised in its movements and manifestations. Lamartine had never been a party to this opposition. He considered it more personal than national, more ambitious than politic. The secret satisfaction of once more detecting this opposition in the very act of weakness, the pride of going beyond it and convicting it of want of aim, perhaps unconsciously added something to the warmth of his address. The fire of anger evaporated in these words. The opposition of the centre left once more yielded and abandoned the banquet. The consequences which might have flowed from the discourse of M. de Lamartine were thus averted. He had no connection with the after-movement, which took another course.

But if these considerations excuse the fault of Lamartine, they are not sufficient to acquit him. The impetus he had given to the opposition might have led to a conflict as much as the obstinacy of the government. Lamartine trusted something to chance. Virtue trusts prudence alone when the peace of empires and the lives of men are in question. He tempted God and the people. Lamartine afterwards reproached himself sincerely with this fault. It is the only one which has weighed



upon his conscience during the whole course of his political career. He did not seek to extenuate it either to himself or others. It is a grave offence to cast back upon God what God has imposed upon the statesman — responsibility. There was in this a defiance to Providence. The wise man should never defy fortune, but foresee and solicit it.

## V.

In the evening a few deputies and peers, to the number of seven or eight, met spontaneously at Lamartine's house. They resolved to accept alone the challenge issued by government, and refused by the opposition of the centre left, and to repair to the banquet to protest by their presence against the arbitrary interdiction of the ministers. A few minutes later they learned that no banquet would take place. They separated.

Meanwhile the government, with a foresight of the events which might arise from much agitation and excitement in the public mind, had assembled a considerable force in and about Paris. It was estimated at fifty-five thousand men. The artillery of Vincennes was to present itself at the first summons at the entrance of the Faubourg Saint Antoine. A disposition, long and carefully studied from the year 1830, in case of a rising, assigned military posts to different corps in the different quarters of the city. Every insurgent body intercepted by these posts would be divided into fragments incapable of reuniting. The fort of Mont Valérien was to be occupied by a numerous garrison, already mounted and on the road from Paris to St. Cloud. Thirty-seven battalions of infantry, a battalion of the *Chasseurs d'Orléans*, three companies of sappers and miners, twenty squadrons, four thousand men of the municipal guard and veterans, and five batteries of artillery, formed the garrison of the capital.

## VI.

The night was mute, like a city reflecting before acting. The morning did not announce a disastrous day. There were no arms beneath dresses, nor anger upon men's countenances. Only curious and inoffensive crowds grew denser on the boulevards, and descended from the upper faubourgs of Paris. They seemed rather to be looking round them than meditating anything. The event seemed to spring from the curiosity which

looked for it. The youth of the schools—the vanguard of all the revolutions—united in groups in the different quarters, and, animated by their numbers, came down upon the Place de la Madeleine singing the *Marseillaise*. The people, electrified, responded to the song. Their column swelled in size, traversed the Place de la Concorde, crossed the Pont Royal, forced the gates of the palace of the Chamber of Deputies, which was still deserted, and scattered, without guide or object, in the gardens of the palace and along the quays. A regiment of dragoons advanced on the quay, and dispersed these youth at a walk, without encountering resistance. The infantry arrived, the artillery took up a position in the Rue de Bourgogne, and the bridge was thus put in a military posture of defence.

The deputies, sad, but not disquieted, again assembled in their palace. They ascended the steps of the peristyle, which faced the bridge, and there beheld the increasing forces at the disposal of the monarchy, and the first wave of the multitude who were pressed back by the cavalry into the *rue Royale*. They heard no cry or musket shot. The music of a regiment of chasseurs sounded peacefully before the gates of the Chamber of Deputies. The contrast of these festival airs and the appearance of combat which covered the quay thrilled the souls, and produced a discord between the ear and the eyes of the citizens.

## VII.

Within, M. Barrot laid on the table of the president an act of accusation against the ministers. M. Guizot, seeing this act deposited, left his bench, went to the table, read the accusation, and smiled with disdain. He had extensively read and written history; his strong and lofty soul loved its grand dramas; his eloquence sought occasions which would resound in the future; his look invited the contest; he braved an accusation, against which he was defended within the house by a majority, incorporated in his own person, and protected without by a monarchy and an army. The distracted Chamber discussed apparently the administrative laws.

The day, short and dark as a winter's day, saw the floating crowds increase, and some barricades erected to mark out the ground of the revolution. The insurgent committees became permanent in the secret societies and the offices of the republican journals. We are ignorant of what occurred there.

They were, without doubt, more employed in observation than in action. The limited action of a conspirator, who can never dispose of but a small number of men, has no influence except when it seizes on a general idea, or a preëxisting passion. The governments of antiquity, tyrannies or despotisms, might be endangered by a conspiracy ; under free governments conspiracy vanishes. The only omnipotent conspirator in modern states is public opinion.

Night came without blood having been shed. It was silent as the day, disquieted as on the eve of a great event. However, the news of a probable change of ministry, which relaxed the danger, reëssured the citizens. The troops bivouacked in the squares and streets. Some benches and chairs on the Champs-Élysées, set on fire by the children, lighted up the horizon with an irregular illumination. The government was everywhere master of Paris, except in that kind of citadel fortified by the nature of the construction and the narrow winding of the streets, near the convent Saint Méry, in the centre of Paris. There some indefatigable and intrepid republicans, who observed everything and despaired of nothing, were concentrated, either by a concerted plan of tactics, or by the same spontaneous revolutionary instincts. Even their chiefs disapproved their obstinacy and rashness. They were estimated at four or five hundred in number, more or less. Another detachment of republicans, without chiefs, disarmed during the night the National Guards of the Batignolles, burned the station of the barrier, and fortified themselves in a neighboring timber-yard to await the event. They did not attempt to dislodge them.

At dawn the routes which led to the gates of Paris were covered with columns of cavalry, infantry and artillery, which the commands of government had collected. These troops were imposing, obedient, well-disciplined, but sad and silent. The sadness of civil war clouded their brows. They took successively their position on the principal streets branching off from the quarters which pour forth the population of Paris. The multitude did not fight *en masse* upon any point. Dispersed and floating bands disarmed only isolated stations, broke open the armorers' shops, and fired invisible shots upon the troops. The barricades, starting from the centre of the church Saint Méry, were raised, branching out and gradually multiplying almost under the feet of the army. Hardly were they reared when they were abandoned. The troops had only stones to



contend with,—it was a silent battle, whose progress was felt without hearing the noise.

The National Guard, assembled by a tardy call, collected legion by legion. It remained neutral, and confined itself to interposing between the troops and the people, and demanding with loud voice the dismissal of the ministers, and reform. It thus served as a shield to the revolution.

### VIII.

Such was the state of Paris on the morning of the twenty-fourth of February. The troops, fatigued from seeing no enemy, yet feeling hostility on all sides, stood faithful but sad at their different posts. The generals and officers discussed with low voices the inexplicable indecision of events. Groups of cavalry were seen at the ends of the principal streets, enveloped in their gray cloaks, with drawn swords in their hands, immovably stationed for thirty-six hours in the same place, allowing their horses to sleep under them, trembling with cold and hunger. The officers of ordnance gallop by every moment, carrying from one part of Paris to another orders and counter-orders. There was heard in the distance, on the side of the Hotel de Ville, and the deep and winding labyrinths of the adjacent streets, some firing from groups of people, which appeared to subside and become silent as the day advanced. The people were not numerous in the streets; they seemed to allow the invisible spirit of revolution to fight for them, and that small band of obstinate combatants who were dying for them in the heart of Paris. It is said there was a watch-word between the masses of the people and that group of republicans—a silent signal of intelligence, which said to some, "Resist a few hours longer," and to others, "You have no need of mingling in the contest, and shedding French blood. The genius of the revolution fights for all; the monarchy is falling; it is only necessary to push it; before the sun sets the republic will have triumphed."

### IX.

The fate of the day was at the disposal of the National Guard. The government thus far had not wished to sound its equivocal disposition, by asking it to take an active part in the affair, and fire on the citizens of Paris. General Jacqueminot,

its commander-in-chief, intrepid and bold in person, but at this time sick, did not doubt but he would find in his officers and soldiers the warlike and devoted resolution he felt in himself. The king, who, for eighteen years, had pressed the hand of each man of that civic guard of Paris, and who knew better than any one what solid union existed between their interests and his own, believed himself sure of their hearts and bayonets.

The prefect of Paris, Count de Rambuteau, strongly attached to the royal family, but incapable of flattering at such a juncture those whom he loved, did not partake this confidence. His daily intercourse with the merchants of Paris, from whom were chosen almost all the colonels and officers of this corps, had revealed to him for some time past a silent discontent, a disaffection—ungrateful perhaps, yet real—which would not rise in sedition, but might manifest itself in abandonment at the hour of danger. He noticed it to the king; the king repelled this notice with a smile and gesture of incredulity. “Go,” said this prince to him, “do you occupy Paris; I will answer for the kingdom.” The faithful magistrate retired, disturbed at such profound security.

## X.

The National Guards, called, in fact, on the morning of the 24th, to interpose between the people and the troops of the line, answered slowly and weakly to the appeal. They recognized, in the prolonged movement of the people, an anti-ministerial demonstration, an armed petition in favor of electoral reform, which they were far from disapproving. They smiled upon it in secret. They felt an antipathy to the name of M. Guizot. His irritating and prolonged authority oppressed them. They loved his principles of government, perhaps; they did not love the man. They saw in him at one time a complaisance, at another an imprudent vexation, of England. They reproached him for a peace too dearly purchased by political servility in Portugal; they reproached him for the war too rashly risked, for the aggrandizement of the Orleans family, at Madrid. They rejoiced at the downfall and humiliation of this minister, equally unpopular in peace and war.

They were not too much alarmed by seeing the people vote with musket-shots against the system pursued by the king. This prince had grown old in the heart of the National Guard, as in the number of his years. His wisdom appeared to the Parisians to have become petrified through obstinacy. This

obstinacy, crushed or vanquished by sedition, appeared to the *bourgeoisie* a just punishment for too long continued prosperity. Everything was confined, in the opinion of the National Guards, to a change of ministry, somewhat forced by the agitation of Paris; to the entry of the opposition into the administration of affairs, in the persons of M. Thiers and M. Odilon Barrot; to a moderate reform of the electoral law; to a Chamber of Deputies made young again and imbued with the spirit of the country. The most clear-sighted saw nothing more than the abdication of the king and a regency. In a word, the National Guard, by its murmurs, believed that it was only making an opposition in the street, when it had already made a revolution. For the rest, they did not doubt that the night had yielded counsel to the king; that the new ministry would be announced in the morning; and that the aimless *émeute* would vanish of itself, and be transformed, as on the eve, to cries of joy and illuminations.

## XI.

The Chamber of Deputies had been in session from eight o'clock in the morning, in expectance of the communications the king would make them through his ministers. They were as full of security as the king himself. The majority, confiding in their strength, and in the number and fidelity of the troops, were conversing quietly in their seats on the different ministerial combinations which the coming hour would reveal to the deputies. A change of power was seen to be imminent, but no one yet foresaw a change of government. The pampered friends of the old ministry were in consternation. Ambitious individuals brightened at their approaching fortune. The independent members contemplated with feelings of sadness the struggle between two desperate parties, which might produce the ruin of the country. A painful, but still not hopeless anxiety, weighed upon the spirits of the assembly. Every time a man of note entered the hall, groups were formed about him, as to anticipate from his lips the watchword of destiny.

Still one of the men for whom Providence had reserved a part in the approaching drama did not foresee the catastrophe which was destined in a few hours to engulf the monarchy. This man was Lamartine.

Lamartine was the son of a provincial gentleman from the bank of Saône.

His early youth had been obscure. He had passed it in



study, travel, and country retirement. He had held much intercourse with nature, with books, and with his own heart and thoughts. He had been nurtured in a hatred of the empire. This servitude possessed only an external glory, — it was mournful and desolate within. The study of Tacitus had roused his heart against the tyranny of the new Cæsar. Born of a military, religious, and loyal race, Lamartine had entered the Royal Guards, on the return of the Bourbons, like all the sons of the old provincial *noblesse*. Impatience and disgust at the service, in time of peace, had induced him to quit it. He had resumed his independence and his travels over the world. Poetry, produced almost involuntarily, had circulated his name. This precocious reputation had secured him a welcome from the politicians of the day, M. de Talleyrand, M. Pasquier, M. Mounier, M. Royer Collard, M. de Broglie, and particularly M. Lainé. Under their auspices, he had entered diplomatic life. His opinions, from that time forward, liberal and constitutional, like those of his family, had displeased the court. In 1830, he had only just been appointed minister plenipotentiary to Greece.

After the revolution of July, he sent in his resignation, from a feeling of respect to the decaying fortunes of the royal house, which he had served, and from that of reserve to the ascending fortunes of the new monarchs rising into power. He had spent two years in travelling in the East. The horizon of the world had enlarged his thoughts. A sight of the ruins of empires saddens but strengthens the philosopher. As from the elevation of a geographical fact, we behold the rise, grandeur, and destruction of races, ideas, creeds, and empires. Nations disappear. We see only humanity tracing its course, and multiplying its halts upon the road to infinity. We discern God more clearly at the termination of this long route of the caravan of nations. We seek to estimate the divine plan of civilization, and detect it. We receive a faith in the indefinite progress of human affairs. Momentary and local policy dwindles and disappears. Universal and eternal policy remains. We depart men, we return philosophers. From that time, we belong only to God's party. Opinion becomes a philosophy. This is the result of long travels and profound thoughts in the East. The bottom of the abyss, and the secrets of the ocean, are only discovered after the ocean is dried up. It is thus with the bed of nations. History understands them only when they are no more.

## XII.

During his journey in the East, Lamartine had been nominated deputy by the *Département du Nord*. He had held a seat, isolated from parties, for twelve years; seeking the path of truth, intelligence, and philosophy; speaking by turns for and against the government; as void of hatred as of love for the new dynasty; ready to aid it, if willing to rule according to the views of a democracy increasing in rights as well as in power—ready to resist it, if it resumed the path of the past.

The political principles of Lamartine were those of the eternal truth of which the gospel is a page, the equality of men in the eyes of God, realized on earth by those laws and forms of government which give to the greatest number, and presently to all citizens, the most equal share of personal participation in the government, and thence eventually in the moral and material benefits of human society.

Still Lamartine recognized the rule of reason as superior to the brutal sovereignty of numbers; for reason being in his view the reflection of God upon the human race, the sovereignty of reason was the sovereignty of God. He did not push to a chimerical point the violent and actually impossible equalization of social conditions. He could not conceive of any civilized society without three bases, which seemed given by instinct itself, that great revealer of eternal truths,—the State, Family, and Property. The community of goods,—which necessarily implies the community of the wife, child, father, and mother,—and the degradation of the species, inspired him with horror. Socialism, under its different formulæ of Saint Simonism, Fourierism, Appropriation of Capital under pretence of freeing and multiplying its produce, inspired him with pity. Property, doubtless, appeared to him, like everything else, capable of being perfected by institutions which develop instead of destroying it; but the protection of wages seemed to him the freest and most perfect form of the association between capital and labor, since wages are the exacted proportion liberally estimated between the value of labor and the wants of capital—a proportion expressed in every free country by what is called common consent.

Still, as the laborer, pressed by hunger, does not possess always and immediately his perfect freedom to estimate his rights, and thus to proportion the price of his labor to the service he renders capital, Lamartine admitted, to a certain extent,

the state, as the arbiter, or the great *Prud'homme*, between the contrary exigences of the two contracting parties.

He wished, moreover, that the state, the providence of the strong and the weak, should, in certain extreme cases, determined by the administration, furnish aid, in the shape of work, to laborers who found it utterly impossible to obtain bread for their families. He asked for a poor tax. He would not have abandonment and death the ultimatum of a civilized community to the laborer destitute of food and shelter. He would have this ultimatum — work and bread.

In fine, sensible of the advantages of property, the true civic right of modern times, he aspired to the gradual extinction of destitution, by endowing more generally with property the greatest number, and eventually all citizens. But the first condition of this successive appropriation of a portion of property to the hands of all was a respect for property in the hands of proprietors, merchants, working men already elevated by labor and inheritance to dignity and prosperity. To dispossess some to enrich others, did not seem to him progress, but an act of plunder, ruinous to all.

Such were his ideas of the social measures which the revolution ought to accomplish, or rather which the government should perfect, for the advantage of the masses. As to the form of government, he had, in his *History of the Girondists*, expressed his sincere views on the monarchical and republican forms of government. We shall repeat them; these pages comprise the whole man.

### XIII.

It will seem by these pages that the question of government was to Lamartine one of circumstance, rather than principle. It is evident, that if the constitutional government of Louis Philippe had honestly labored to accomplish gradually and completely the two or three moral or material measures demanded by the epoch, Lamartine would have defended the monarchy. For in his calm and rational appreciation of the happiness of nations and individuals, stability and order certainly seemed to him weighty conditions of repose. Now, repose is a good. But Lamartine knew that the *seated* powers, to use an expression he employed in the *Girondins*, almost inflexibly refused to engage in these labors of transformation, which are almost always concussions. While himself refus-



mg conscientiously to provoke a revolution, in his own mind he was reconciled to the perspective of an involuntary revolution, if the force of circumstances embraced one. He was resolved to brave its tempests and its perils,—to direct it, on the one hand, to the accomplishment of ideas which he believed to be matured, and, on the other, confine it, as far as he could, within the limits of justice, prudence, and humanity.

The two principal ideas which Lamartine thought sufficiently pure and sufficiently matured to be worth the effort of a revolution were entirely disinterested. They concerned only the cause of God and humanity. They satisfied no personal interests or passions of his own; or, at least, they were the passions of a philosopher, and not of an ambitious man. He had nothing to gain, and much to lose by it. He only asked of this prospective revolution permission to serve it, and give his heart, his reason, and perhaps his life, to its cause. These two ideas were worthy of such a sacrifice.

One was the accession of the masses to political rights, to prepare for their progressive, inoffensive, and regular advancement to justice; that is to say, to equality of standing, intelligence, relative well-being in society.

The second was the absolute emancipation of the conscience of the human race, not by the destruction but by the complete liberty, of religious creeds. The means, in his eyes, was the final separation of Church and State. So long as the Church and State were bound together by simoniacal contracts, by salaries received and by investitures given, the State appeared to him interposed between God and the human conscience. Religions, on their side, appeared to him adulterated or profaned, in descending thus from their majesty of voluntary faiths to the servile condition of political magistracies. "The revolution of '89," he had said from the tribune, "has conquered liberty for every one excepting God. Religious truth is the prisoner of the law, or enslaved by the salaries or partial favors of governments. We must restore its independence, and abandon it to its natural radiation over the human mind. In becoming more free, it will become more true; in becoming more true, it will become more holy; in becoming more holy and more free, it will become more effective. It is now but law; it will be faith. It is now but the letter; it will be spirit. It is now but a formula; it will be action."

Lamartine was born religious, as the air was created transparent. The sentiment of God was so inseparable from his

soul, that it was impossible for him to distinguish politics from religion. All progress which did not end in a more luminous knowledge and a more active adoration of the creator, source, and end of humanity, seemed to him a groping and aimless march in nothingness.

But in calling with all his aspirations and all his acts for a progress in faith and adoration, Lamartine did not wish this progress but by the action of universal reason upon all, and of each man upon his own reason. He had a horror of persecutions, of violence, or even of the delusions of conscience. He respected sincerely in others that organ, the most inviolable of all those of which man is formed, faith. He venerated faith and piety, under whatever holy form they may have animated, instructed, and consoled his brethren. He called to mind the innumerable and holy virtues of which catholicism, understood otherwise than he himself understood it, was the divine spring in the heart of believers. He would have died for the inviolability of the sincere and conscientious worship of the last of the faithful. He desired that religions should themselves cast off the antiquity with which they were invested; he did not wish that they should be violently, or even irreverently, despoiled. His only apostle was liberty; it is the only worthy minister of God in the minds of men. He respected the priesthood, provided the priesthood was the voluntary magistracy of the soul, armed with faith, and not with law. His system of the liberty of worship by association alone was rational, pious, and opposed to revolutionary in the bad sense of that word.

#### XIV.

These were the two secret moving principles which urged Lamartine not to make, but to accept, a revolution, or, at least, a complement of a revolution. For, he did not conceal from himself at all the difficulties, the dangers and the misfortunes, which every revolution draws after it. He loved democracy, as justice. He abhorred the principles of the demagogue, as the tyranny of the multitude. God has composed humanity, as he has composed man, of a principle of good, and of a principle of evil. There is a portion of virtue and a portion of vice and crime in the masses, as in individuals. This vice and this crime are agitated and exalted in revolutions. Everything which puts them in motion appears to multiply them, until the calm is renewed, and their nature draws them to the bottom.

It is the war of the foam against the ocean. The ocean, in becoming calm, triumphs always, and swallows up the foam. But it has none the less been stained. Lamartine knew that. He trembled beforehand at the excesses of the demagogue. He was resolved to resist it, and to die, if necessary, to preserve from its delirium and its fury the pure party of the people, and the calm majesty of a revolution.

## XV.

Now, while he heard and saw, without well comprehending it, a movement more like a tumult than a revolution, which was concentrated in some of the streets in the centre of Paris, see what was accomplished.

On the evening of the twenty-third, a few minutes after sunset, the crowd, satisfied with a change of ministry, inundated the boulevards and the streets, clapping their hands at the illuminations which glittered upon the façades of the houses. A feeling of peace and inward joy reposed at the bottom of the hearts of the citizens. It was like a silent proclamation of reconciliation and concord, after an abortive outbreak between the king and the people. They knew that the king, not vanquished but shaken, had called successively to the Tuileries M. Molé, M. Thiers, M. Barrot.

M. Molé, a man of politic temperament, experienced in crises, agreeable to courts, esteemed by the conservatives, loved by the high *bourgeoisie*, one of those aristocracies by birth and character, whose superiority is so natural that the most jealous democracy is honored by acknowledging and loving them.

M. Thiers, chief of the personal opposition to the king, a man whose talent, ready for everything, and capable of the most unexpected movements, could equally astonish the conservatives, rule the king, or fascinate the people.

M. Barrot, unsuited to the government so far as concerned the inflexibility and popularity of his principles, but whom the extremity of the danger now rendered necessary, and whose name alone promised to the people the last administration possible between royalty and a republic.

His opinions placed M. Barrot upon the last boundaries of monarchy. He was the Lafayette of 1848. His eloquence was of a nature to give force and éclat to a ministry. His character, of undisputed purity, sometimes bent by complaisance and indecision of mind, never by feebleness of heart,



made him a serious and almost inviolable idol of the people. He was the opposition personified, but the opposition freed from every other ambition but that of honorable glory. Such a man seemed to have been reserved aside, during eighteen years, to save at the last hour the conquered king, who threw himself into his arms.

## XVI.

These negotiations were not finished during the evening of the twenty-third. The king had remained deaf to the conditions proposed by M. Molé. A change of men appeared to this prince a sufficient sacrifice for the occasion. A change of measures seemed to him an abdication of his own wisdom. As to M. Thiers and M. Barrot, their names were repugnant to the king, as the visible signs of his personal defeat. He reserved these two names as the strongest conjurations against the greatest dangers; but he did not believe himself seriously condemned to make use of them. The night was left for him to reflect, and to decide according to the appearances more or less menacing of the following day. Nothing announced that this night, which commenced with the splendors of an illumination, was the last night of the monarchy.

A small number of combatants, concentrated in that quarter of Paris which forms, by the crookedness and narrowness of its streets, the natural citadel of insurrections, preserved alone a hostile attitude and an inaccessible position. These men were nearly all veterans of the republic, formed by the voluntary discipline of sects in the secret societies of the two monarchies; trained to the struggle, and even to martyrdom, in all the battles which had made Paris bleed, and contested the establishment of the monarchy. Their invisible chief had no name nor rank. It was the invisible breath of revolution; the spirit of sect, the soul of the people, suffering from the present, aspiring to bring light from the future; the cool and disinterested enthusiasm which rejoices in death, if by its death posterity can find a germ of amelioration and life.

To these men were joined two other kinds of combatants, who always throw themselves into the tumultuous movements of seditions; the ferocious spirits whom blood allures and death delights, and the light natures whom the whirlwind attracts and draws in, the children of Paris. But this germ did not increase. It watched in silence, musket in hand. It contented itself with thus giving time for the general insurrection.

This insurrection was nowhere manifested. It needed a war-cry to excite it, a cry of horror to sow fury and vengeance in that mass of floating population, equally ready to retire to their homes, or to go forth to overthrow the government. Some silent groups collected here and there at the extremity of the faubourgs of the Temple and of St. Antoine. Other groups, few in number, appeared at the entrance of the streets which open from the Chaussée d'Antin upon the boulevards.

These two kinds of groups were different in costume and attitude. The one was composed of young men belonging to the rich and elegant classes of the bourgeoisie, to the schools, to commerce, to the National Guard, to literature, and above all to journalism. These harangued the people, roused their anger against the king, the ministry, the Chambers, spoke of the humiliation of France to the foreigner, of the diplomatic treasons of the court, of the corruption and insolent servility of the deputies sold to the discretion of Louis Philippe. They discussed aloud the names of the popular ministers whom the insurrection must impose upon the Tuileries. The numerous loiterers and persons passing by, eager for news, stopped near the orators, and applauded their proposals.

The other groups were composed of men of the people, come from their workshops two days since at the sound of musketry; their working-clothes upon their shoulders, their blue shirts open at the breast, their hands yet black with the smoke of charcoal. These descended in silence, by small companies, grazing the walls of the streets which lead to Clichy, la Villette, and the Canal de l'Ourcq. One or two workmen, better clothed than the others, in cloth vests, or in surtouts with long skirts, marched before them, spoke to them in low tones, and appeared to give them the word of command. These were the chiefs of the sections of the Rights of Man, or of the Families.

The society of the Rights of Man, and of the Families, was a kind of democratic masonry, instituted, since 1830, by some active republicans. These societies preserved, under different names, since the destruction of the first republic by Bonaparte, the rancor of betrayed liberty, as well as some traditions of jacobinism, transmitted from Babeuf to Buonarotti, and from Buonarotti to the young republicans of this school. The members of these purely political societies were recruited almost entirely from among the chiefs of the mechanic workshops, locksmiths, cabinet-makers, printers, joiners, and carpenters of Paris.

Parallel to these permanent conspiracies against royalty, the

keystone of the arch of privilege, philosophical societies were organized, composed of almost the same elements,—some under the auspices of St. Simon, others under those of Fourier,—the former comprising the followers of Cabet, the latter those of Raspail, of Pierre Leroux and of Louis Blanc. These conspiracies in open day were alone spread by means of eloquence, association and journalism. Sects so far pacific, these societies discussed their opinions, and caused them to be discussed freely.

These opinions, whose principle was a chimerical fraternity realized upon earth, all lead to the suppression of individual property. They lead, by a direct consequence, to the suppression of the family. The family is the trinity of the father, of the mother, and of the child. The father, the mother, and the child who perpetuates them, renew, without cessation, this trinity, which alone completes and continues man. Without personal and hereditary property, this family, the source, delight, and continuation of humanity, has no foundation to germinate and perpetuate itself here below. The man is a male, the woman a female, and the child a little one of the human flock. The soil, without a master, ceases to be fertile. Civilization, the product of wealth, of leisure, and of emulation, vanishes. The destruction of the family is the suicide of the human race.

These elementary truths were classed among the number of prejudices, and insulted with the names of tyranny, by the different masters of these schools. Philosophers or sophists, ideal adventurers, these men, for the most part honest, sincere, fanatical in their own chimeras, went further in imagination than the social world can carry the feet of man. They wandered eloquently in the chaos of systems. They caused to wander with them, unfortunately, simple, suffering, credulous men, shortsighted, with good intentions, but with false ideas, excited by misery and resentment against the actual world. These systems were the poetry of communism, intoxicating the aspirations of utopians, and the vengeance of those discontented with the social order. The nomadic people of the workshops, wandering from their native soil and the truths of family, threw themselves, without perceiving it, into nothingness. They were irritated by the tardy realization of the promises of their masters. Every shock to the government appeared to the members of these anti-social societies a fulfilment of their dreams. Without sharing at all in the purely republican and levelling dogma of the society of the Rights of Man, and of the society of the Families, the Socialists heartily joined the combatants, hoping to find their





THE GROUP BEFORE THE OFFICE OF LE NATIONAL.



THE  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

treasure under a ruin. The difference between these two kinds of revolutionists is, that the first were inspired by the hatred of royalty, the second by the progress of humanity. The republic and equality was the aim of the one; social renovation and fraternity the aim of the other. They had nothing in common but impatience against that which existed, and hope for that which they saw dawning in an approaching revolution.

## XVII.

Towards ten o'clock in the evening, a small column of republicans of the young *bourgeoisie* passed through the rue Lepelletier; it formed a group in silence around the gate of the journal *Le National*, as if a rendezvous had been appointed. In all our revolutions, counsel is held, the word of command is given, the impulse comes, from the journal office. It is the *comitia* of public union, the ambulatory tribune of the people. We hear a long conference between the republicans within and the republicans without. Short and feverish words were exchanged through the low, closed window of the porter's lodge. The column, inspired with the enthusiasm which had just been communicated to it, advanced with cries of *Vive la réforme! à bas les ministres!* towards the boulevards.

Hardly had it quitted the office of *Le National*, when another column of workmen and men of the people presented itself, and halted there, at the command of its chief. It seemed to have been expected. It was applauded by the clapping of hands from within the house. Then a young man, of slight figure, with fire concentrated in his looks, his lips agitated by enthusiasm, his hair agitated by the breath of inspiration, mounts upon the window-seat, and harangues this multitude. The spectators see nothing but his gestures, hear nothing but the sound of his voice, and some thrilling phrases bearing the accent of the south. The tone of this eloquence was popular, but the wise and imaginative popularity which had in it nothing of the trivial. It elevated the rue de Paris to the eminence of the Roman forum. It was modern passion from the lips of a man reared in antiquity. They thought they recognized, by the light of the lamp, a man of letters on the tribune. It was, said they, M. Marrast, the editor, at once gay and terrible with the sarcasms or invective of the republican opposition.

The effect of this harangue was displayed in the impatience, the attitudes and silent shuddering, of that group of combatants.

They marched to rejoin the first group, which appeared to direct them. Two other silent groups also advanced at the same time, like a body detached to a position previously designed. The one appeared to come from the populous and ever tumultuous quarters of the boulevard de la Bastille. The other from the centre of Paris, having formed its nucleus in the office of the journal *La Réforme*. They had the zeal of the most indefatigable conspirators against royalty, and at their head marched men of action rather than of words, who carried arms under their clothes. They marched like a well-trained band, and watched for the fire, while each combatant supported himself with confidence upon the tried arm of his companion in arms.

The column of the boulevard de la Bastille was more numerous, but less compact and less powerful. It called to mind those revolutionary processions of the same people, descending into Paris on the decisive days of our first civil troubles. We saw there many women and children in rags, migrations from the suburbs, that come, from time to time, to astonish the rich and voluptuous centre of capitals by the spectacle of the poverty and strength of the primitive people. These more popular groups required visible and striking symbols to rally them. They had troops; they needed a leader. They had an army; they required a flag and drums, colors and noise. They carried two or three flags, torn in the struggles of the day and evening. They read there some trifling imprecations engraved on the white band of the three colors.

A man about forty years of age, tall, slender, with his hair curling and floating upon his neck, clothed in a white frock-coat, much worn and covered with mud, marched at their head with a military step. His arms were crossed upon his breast; his head was a little bent forward, like a man about to meet the bullets with coolness, and who marched on to death, proud of dying. The eyes of this man, who was well known by the crowd, concentrated all the fire of a revolution. His countenance was expressive of a defiance which braved force. His lips, constantly agitated, were pale and trembling; yet his martial figure had at the bottom something dreamy, melancholy, and compassionate, which excluded all idea of cruelty in his courage. He displayed rather, in his posture, his attitudes and his features, a fanaticism of devotion, a madness of heroism, which calls to mind the Delhys of the East, intoxicated with opium, before throwing themselves on death. They said that his name was Lagrange.

Near the *café Tortoni*, the rendezvous of idlers, these three columns united. They pressed aside by their weight the crowd of curious and unemployed persons, who swayed to and fro according to the natural oscillation of the crowds on the great crossings of the boulevards. A party of inoffensive people followed mechanically the flanks of this silent column. A small detachment, composed of workmen armed with sabres and pikes, separated from the principal body at the upper part of the rue de Choiseul, and sunk without noise into that street. This detachment appeared to have for its mission to march and turn upon the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, occupied by troops, while the head of the column attacked them in front. An invisible plan evidently combined these movements. The unanimous breath of a revolution roused the masses. Conspirators alone could have controlled the chances with so much precision, and have thus directed the evolutions.

### XVIII.

A red flag floated amidst the smoke of torches over the foremost ranks of this multitude. Its numbers thickened as it continued to advance. A sinister curiosity became intent upon this cloud of men, which seemed to bear the mystery of the day.

In front of the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, a battalion of the line, drawn up in battle array, with loaded arms, its commander at the head, barred the boulevard. The column suddenly halts before this hedge of bayonets. The floating of the flag and the gleaming of torches frighten the horse of the commander. Rearing and whirling on its hind legs, the horse throws itself back towards the battalion, which opens to surround its leader. A discharge of fire-arms resounds in the confusion of this movement. Did it proceed, as has been said, from a concealed and perverse hand, fired upon the people by an agitator of the people, in order to revive by the sight of blood the cooling ardor of the struggle? Did it come from the hand of one of the insurgents upon the troop? In fine, what is more likely, did it come accidentally from the movement of some loaded weapon, or from the hand of some soldier who believed his commander was wounded when he saw the fright of his horse? No one knows. Crime or chance, that discharge of fire-arms rekindled a revolution.

The soldiers, supposing themselves attacked, take aim with their muskets. A train of fire bursts forth along the whole



line. The explosion, reverberated by the lofty houses and deep streets of this centre of Paris, shakes the entire boulevard. The column of the people of the faubourgs falls decimated by balls. Dying shrieks and groans of the wounded mingle with cries of alarm from lookers-on, women and children, who flee precipitately into the neighboring houses, into the low streets, under the gates. By the glimmering light of the torches, which are being extinguished in the blood on the pavement, groups of corpses can be discerned strewing here and there the highway. The terrified crowd, imagining itself pursued, retires, with shouts of vengeance, nearly as far as the rue Lafitte, leaving vacancy, silence and night, between it and the battalions.

### XIX.

The crowd believed it had been traitorously thunderstruck in the midst of a demonstration of joy and harmony on account of a change of ministry. Its rage was turned against ministers so perfidious as to avenge their fall by torrents of blood — upon this king, so obstinate as to smite the same people who had crowned him by means of their own blood in 1830.

The soldiers, on their part, were dismayed by this involuntary carnage. No one had given the order to fire; — no order had been heard, except to cross bayonets, for the sake of opposing steel to the onset of the people. The night, perplexity, chance, precipitation, had done all. Blood bathed the feet of the soldiers; the wounded crawled along to die between the legs of their murderers, and against the walls of the hotel. Tears of despair fell from the eyes of the commander; the officers blunted the points of their sabres on the pavement, while deploring this accidental crime. They felt in advance the rebounding of this involuntary murder of the people on the spirit of the Parisian population. The commander hastened to prevent this mistake, by entering into an understanding with the people; — he ordered a lieutenant to go and bear to the crowd gathered at the corner of the rue Lafitte expressions of regret and explanations.

The officer presents himself at the café Tortoni, which forms the angle of this street and the boulevard. He wishes to speak. The crowd press around him and listen; but scarcely has he uttered a few words when a man, armed with a musket, enters, pushes the spectators aside, and aims at the envoy. Some National Guards strike the weapon up, thrust back the murderer, and conduct the officer to his battalion.

## XX.

Nevertheless the report of the event spread as rapidly as the sound of the firing, along the whole line of the boulevards, and throughout half of Paris. The column of the faubourgs, for a moment driven back and dispersed, had retraced its steps to gather up its dead. Huge tumbrels, with teams ready harnessed, were found at hand at this advanced hour of the night, as if they had been prepared beforehand to carry about Paris corpses destined to rekindle, through the eyes, the fury of the people. The corpses are gathered up, they are arranged on these tumbrels,—the arms hanging outside the cart, the wounds uncovered, the blood pouring over the wheels. They are borne by torch-light in front of the office of the *National*, as a trophy of approaching vengeance, displayed near that cradle of the republic.

After this mournful pause, the car sets forward in the direction of the rue Montmartre, and stops before the office of the journal *La Réforme*,—a fresh appeal to the irreconcilable opposition of the republic and the monarchy. Hoarse cries, as if choked by the indignation, and repressed sobbing of the retinue, rise to the windows of the houses. A man, standing on the car, lifts from time to time from the pile of dead the corpse of a female, shows it to the crowd, and lays it back on the bloody couch. At this sight the pity of the passers-by is changed into fury; they run to arm themselves at their houses; the streets become empty; a line of men armed with muskets march along by the wheels; they penetrate the obscure streets of the populous centre of Paris, towards the carré Saint Martin—that Mount Aventine of the people. They rap at door after door, to summon new combatants to vengeance. At the spectacle of those accusing victims of royalty, these quarters rise, rush to the bells, sound the tocsin, tear up the pavements of the streets, erect and multiply barricades. From time to time, volleys of musketry resound, to hinder slumber from quieting the anxiety and rage of the city. The bells transmit from church to church, onwards to the ear of the king at the Tuileries, their febrile pulsations, precursors of the insurrection on the morrow.

## BOOK III.

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### I.

WHEN the commotion, excited by vengeance and favored by the night, was extending throughout all Paris, the king reflected, at the sounds of the tocsin, upon the means of calming the people and suppressing the revolution, in which he was still unwilling to see anything more than an *émeute*. The abdication of his system of foreign policy, personified in M. Guizot, in M. Duchâtel, and in the majority of the Chambers, completely gained over to his interests, must seem to him more than the abdication of his crown,—it was the abdication of his opinions, of his wisdom, of his halo of infallibility, in the eyes of Europe,—of his family, of his people, in his own eyes. To yield a throne to adverse fortune is a slight matter for a great soul;—to yield one's renown and his moral authority to triumphant opinion and implacable history, is the most painful effort to be obtained from the heart of man, for it is the effort which breaks and which humiliates him. But the king was not one of those rash and sanguinary natures, who, in cold blood, stake the life of a people against the satisfaction of their pride. He had read much history—was much experienced in events and their consequences—had reflected much. He did not dissimulate from himself that a dynasty which should reconquer Paris by grape-shot and howitzers would be incessantly exposed to the horror of the people. His field of battle had always been opinion; it is upon that he would act; he desires to be promptly reconciled with it by concessions; only, as a shrewd politician and economist, he bargained with himself and with opinion, in order to procure this reconciliation at the least possible detriment to his system and his dignity. He believed he had yet many steps of popularity to descend before those of the throne. The rest of the night appeared to him a more than sufficient space of time for circumventing the exigences of the situation with which the day menaced him.

## II.

In this state of mind the king awaited M. Molé, with whom he had already held an interview in the course of the day. The events of the evening had bent his will to some adjustment. M. Molé, who was prudence and moderation by nature, might doubtless, three days earlier, have justly reconciled what was demanded for the preservation of the monarchical principle, to which he had been attached all his life, with what was required by the irritations of parliamentary opinion. But M. Molé, discouraged by the interview of the preceding forenoon, did not come.

The king then sent after M. Thiers. That minister, born with the royalty of July, loaded with the favors of the crown, dear to the parliament by his eloquence, often ill-satisfied, sometimes an agitator at the tribune, never irreconcilable, owed his heart and his voice to the perils of the dynasty which had adopted him. Tempered anew in an opposition of seven years, M. Thiers could rally to the king, on monarchical conditions, all that part of the nation whose republicanism was a mere caprice. The name of M. Thiers signified the victory of the opposition over the personal obstinacy of the king. Imposed already upon the king in 1840, by an almost seditious coalition of different parties in the Chambers, M. Thiers had shown that triumph would not be abused by him. At that time master of the king, he had allowed himself to be honorably vanquished in his turn by the king; he had resigned the ministry into the hands of M. Guizot and the conservatives, at the very moment when he might have forced the king to retain him, and Europe to be convulsed, in the interests of his ambition. He had been unwilling to be the Necker of the Orleans dynasty, when the imprudence of the coalesced parties of the opposition had allotted him the part of a minister master of his master. He confined himself to serving the king in his false idea of placing royalty within a citadel by fortifying the capital, and to agitating Europe, by force of diplomacy, up to the extreme verge of war, in order to restore a little martial popularity to his cause in the negotiations relating to the East. This unfortunate conception of the French cabinet would have resulted in a retreat of the ministry, or in a universal war without allies for France. M. Thiers, who had marched resolutely towards the abyss at a distance, checked himself when he saw it yawn beneath his feet. He had not clung with crim-



inal obstinacy to his error; he had sacrificed his personality before the danger of his country: he had not been willing to illustrate his name with the blood of Europe; this repentance had honored his fall in the eyes of the good; he had retired disgraced in the view of statesmen, stripped of popularity in the opinion of extreme factions, but elevated in the esteem of impartial men. It is thus, at least, that we understood his rash accession, his agitated ministry, his honorable retirement. History ought to allow conscience to enter into the appreciation of a statesman.

### III.

M. Thiers, summoned at midnight, did not hesitate to come forward. Providence seemed to have predestined him to assist at the cradle and at the funeral of this monarchy. At the moment when M. Thiers entered the Tuileries, M. Guizot was yet with the king. Illusion with reference to the nature of the movement, and imperturbable confidence in the strength of his will and the infallibility of his plans, did not permit it to be thought that any retrogression, that any self-reproach, made the spirit of the minister waver even at this last moment. His latest act was a defiance of opinion. In retiring he provoked it again. The king and the minister, dissatisfied with the military dispositions intrusted to the hands of General Jacqueminot and of General Tiburce Sebastiani, had just signed the appointment of Marshal Bugeaud to the military command of Paris. Marshal Bugeaud was at that time the object at once of confidence in the army, and of unpopularity in Paris; his name was a declaration of relentless war against compromise.

A simple colonel in 1830, conspicuous in that grade by an heroic valor, and an instinctive knowledge of the art of war, Marshal Bugeaud was unreservedly devoted to the new dynasty. Commander of the fortress of Blaye, he had held as prisoner the Duchess de Berri: the unfortunate captive left prison respected for her heroism as a princess, but with a blemished reputation as a woman. That disclosure of a tender weakness answered a political rurpose with the Orleans dynasty, but shocked nature. Marshal Bugeaud had doubtless neither counselled nor approved this policy which trampled the family under foot. But he had the misfortune to find himself in an alternative between his duty as a soldier and his sentiments as a man. His situation had been made a crime.

A deep resentment was cherished against him, dating from that period, in the minds of the royalists. Since then he had treated, it was averred, certain quarters of Paris more like a besieged city than a capital, in the revolts which signalized the last struggles of the republican party. That party never forgot the name of the marshal in its imprecations against monarchical rigors. But the governor-generalship of Algiers, exercised imperiously during five years, the subjection and pacification of Africa, indefatigable campaigns, a battle illustrious by the name of Isly, the absolute but detailed administration of the province, the solicitude of a father as much as of a general for the army, the love of the soldier, had reconciled France to the name of Marshal Bugeaud ; his intelligence had appeared to rise and enlarge in proportion to his honors. In his exterior, in his manner, in his brevity of speech, which cut without wounding, there was a rough good sense, a military frankness, and a commanding authority, which imposed attention upon the masses, confidence in the troops, and terror upon enemies ; such a man, placed the day before at the head of sixty thousand men of the army of Paris, would have rendered the victory of the people either impossible or bloody ; summoned at the moment when the ministry was tottering, his name was a contradiction to concessions ; it rendered them suspicious on the part of royalty, unacceptable on the part of the people.

#### IV.

M. Thiers and M. Guizot, the one coming out, the other entering, met at the door of the king's cabinet. Both seemed summoned in vain to the aid of a reign which their two systems of policy had equally ruined.

M. Thiers took it upon him to form a ministry on condition that M. Odilon Barrot, leader of the oldest and widest opposition, should be admitted to it. To reinstate the monarchical power, it must needs be entirely displaced. A parliamentary revolution alone can arrest a popular revolution. The single instinct of safety directed this measure. The king consented to it.

The new ministry understood, moreover, that the nomination of Marshal Bugeaud as commander-in-chief of the troops would henceforth appear a provocation, and would inflame yet more hotly the combat. It desired a truce, in order to negoti-

ate with public opinion; it ordered the suspension of hostilities for the next day; it drafted a proclamation to the people. This proclamation, sent to the police, was posted up before morning. Reassured by these pacificatory measures, which he must believe efficacious, M. Thiers withdrew.

M. Guizot, who had not yet left the palace, again entered the cabinet of the king; he remained there an hour longer, in close conversation with this prince. The object of this last interview between the prince and his minister is unknown. Without doubt it was forecasting for the future, rather than reverting to the past; strong wills have illusions, never repentance. The genius of M. Guizot was chiefly force of will; this will might be broken, but not bent, even by the hand of God.

## V.

At this moment Paris seemed hushed in silence and fatigue. The tocsin had ceased to sound; a mute army, concentrated in the heart of the old city around the carré Saint-Martin, was breaking up the streets, was piling pavements, those field-fortifications of the people; innumerable barricades everywhere arose; shots reverberated in the distance at the first dawns of day.

The Tuileries awakened at the sound of musketry. The tardy proclamation, posted up with difficulty in the revolted quarters, was not even signed. The people saw in it a snare to entrap them into the struggle. Instead of disarming, it arms, recruits, rallies and assembles, here in crowds, there in a column, ready for action. M. Thiers repairs to the Tuileries, in order to conclude the formation of his ministry.

The principal members of the constitutional opposition, attached to liberty by principle, to the royalty by devotion, are found there, in company with several generals, who offer their sword for the perils of the day. Among those who arrive are seen Marshal Gérard, a veteran of the empire, the bosom-friend of the king, his counsellor and friend in days of difficulty; General Lamoricière, invested with the prestige which his name had won in Africa, and who commands a brigade of the army of Paris; M. Duvergier de Hauranne, an eminent member of parliament, whose ambition is to inspire, rather than to wield power; M. de Rémusat, minister under M. Thiers; M. Crémieux, M. de Lasteyrie, and several other members of the two Chambers. The danger seems thus to recall to the Tuiler-

ies men who had not crossed its threshold for a long time. It was an honorable but powerless effort to sustain a cause which was falling to ruins. A tumultuous council, interrupted every minute by new chance-comers, and modified incessantly by contradictory news from without concerning the situation of the city and the progress of the insurrection, is held in the saloons which are in front of the king's cabinet. The prince, harassed by the anxieties of the preceding day, and the agitations of the night, reposes on a sofa for a few hours, wholly dressed, and amidst the murmurs of conversation, in which the topics of discussion are his victory, his defeat, or his abdication.

## VI.

During this brief instant of the king's repose, hours brought new strength to the insurrection; the rumor of a massacre of the people on the boulevard had swiftly spread, during the whole night, from heart to heart. The tocsin had diffused as far as the faubourgs that feverish agitation which leaves a man no sleep and no tranquillity; every one was up, armed, ready and resolved for extremities. The students of Paris—that intelligence of the people which naturally takes the direction of the blind force of the masses—were in commotion within the interior of their school; they forced the gates, they issued by clusters from the Polytechnic School; they fraternized with the bands of workmen, they put themselves at their head, and descended, to the singing of the Marseillaise and the Girondins, from their elevated quarter to the heart of Paris. A general inspiration of a people's soul seemed to lead them involuntarily to the military positions which could most embarrass the troops and rule the day; each minute contracted the circle of iron and stone with which the barricades surrounded the palace and the approaches of the Tuileries; one would have said that the soil of the streets rose up itself to bury royalty beneath its pavements.

Between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, the troops concentrated on the two flanks of the Louvre, on the place du Palais Royal, and on the place de la Concorde, heard and saw unmoved the clamors and assaults of the multitude which swelled around the palace of the Tuileries, and the principal hotels of the government. The attitude of these troops was that of astonishment, fatigue, and sadness. The soldier who



is not in action loses all the force of enthusiasm and transport; it is more difficult to await death than to brave it.

The National Guard, divided, showed itself in small numbers, endeavored to exhort the crowd to peace, and arrest the insurgents; then, yielding to the pressure of the mass, to the contagion of example, and to their own habits of discontent, drew up to let the insurrection pass on; saluted it encouragingly with gestures and shouts of *Vive la Reforme!* and in some cases swelled it by their defections, authorized it by their uniforms, and armed it with their bayonets.

The place du Palais Royal had just been taken by the people; that palace, the ancient abode of the house of Orleans, was sacked by the victors; the same people who had so often issued from its door in 1789, as from the cradle of the French revolution, and who had come there to seek a king in 1830, reëntered it, after half a century, as an avenger of a fatal popularity. Furniture, pictures, statues, were destroyed for the sake of anger, rather than of pillage; a battalion of infantry, which had evacuated the court, and traversed the square under firing from the windows, had withdrawn to the Château-d'Eau, already filled with wounded Municipal Guards; a capitulation had soon after permitted them to come forth. The fire consumed this building, and some of the wounded, who could not move, expired, it is said, in the flames.

All this took place at a few steps from numerous bodies of troops, motionless and stupefied, as it were, under the orders by which the king and his new minister prohibited combat.

The place du Carrousel, and the court of the Tuileries, were occupied by infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Those within the palace seemed confidently to expect that the news of a change of ministers and of promised concessions would suffice to pacify the revolt. M. Odilon Barrot passed along the boulevards, surrounded by several popular chiefs of the National Guard; he hoped that his name, his presence, his voice, and his accession to power, would be for public opinion a visible sign and sufficient pledge of victory and concord. But already the prolonged agitation of the people, which had been excited at the banquets of his party, was overflowing this honorable and courageous popularity; he devoted himself to the peril of the dynasty.

M. Barrot, everywhere respected as man, had been repulsed as conciliator; he sadly returned to his dwelling. He was preparing to take to the ministry of the interior, at the call of



THE ATTACK ON THE TUILERIES.

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the king, a power broken in advance in his hands ; at the same moment a brave officer, M. de Prébois, burning with a desire to check the effusion of blood, threw himself, at the sole impulse of his devotion, before the waves of armed people which were flooding the place du Palais Royal, in order to attack the Carrousel. "What do you demand?" said he to them; "what must you have in order to disarm you of these fratricidal weapons? Royalty is making to public opinion all the concessions which can satisfy you. Do you wish reform? It is promised to you. Do you demand the removal of ministers? They have been dismissed. Who, then, are the men of your confidence, in whose hands you find your liberties secure, and your wishes satisfied? The king has just appointed M. Thiers. Are you contented?" — "No! no!" replied the crowd. "He will appoint M. Barrot?" — "No! no!" cried the combatants. "But," resumed the peace-maker, "would you lay down your arms if the king takes M. de Lamartine?" — "Lamartine! Vive Lamartine!" shouted the multitude. "Yes, yes, there is the man we need; let the king appoint Lamartine, and all can yet be arranged. We have confidence in him." So much did the isolation of Lamartine in a narrow Chamber of Deputies discover his popularity, at that time, in the wide and deep judgment of the people.

But neither the king, nor the Chamber, nor the opposition party of M. Thiers, nor the opposition party of M. Barrot, nor even the republican party of the *National*, or of the *Réforme*, had thought of presenting Lamartine to the people as minister, as pacificator, or as tribune. He was neither the man of the Tuileries, nor the man of the opposition journals, nor the man of the reform banquets, nor the man of conspiracies against royalty. He was feeble and alone, not suspecting that the unforeseen confidence of the people called him at that moment by his name. M. de Prébois, escaping from the armed bands which surrounded him, regained with difficulty the Tuileries, to relate to some courtiers what he had just seen and heard. But there was no longer time to deliberate upon the choice of this or that man, alienated from the court. The king was obliged to take at once whoever was at hand. Besides, Lamartine was the last man whom the king would have called to power, in an hour of anguish. This prince did not love M. de Lamartine, still less did he comprehend him. Behold the motives of this estrangement.



self on a balcony with my grandchildren and my princesses, and I will see you die, true to yourself, to the throne, and to our misfortunes!" The countenance of this much-loved wife and this mother, for so long a time happy, was animated for the first time with the energy of her two-fold love for her husband and her children. All her tenderness for them was concentrated and impassioned in her care for their honor. Their lives came second in her regard. Her white hair, contrasting with the fire of her looks and with the animation that brought the color to her cheeks, impressed on her face something tragic and holy, between the *Athalie* and the *Niobe*. The king calmed her by words expressing confidence in his own experience and wisdom, which had never yet deceived him. At eleven o'clock he believed himself so sure of controlling the movement and reducing the crisis by a modification of the ministry, acceptable to the people, that he descended with a smiling face, and in undress costume, to the *salle à manger* to dine with his family.

## X.

Hardly had the repast commenced, when the door was opened, and they saw, entering precipitately, two confidential and disinterested counsellors of the crown, designed, they say, by M. Thiers for the ministry. These were MM. de Rémusat and Duvergier de Hauranne. They prayed the Duke of Montpensier to give them a private audience. The prince rose and ran towards the two negotiators. But the king and queen, unable to restrain their impatience, rose at the same time, looking at M. de Rémusat with inquiring eyes,—"Sire," said he, "the king must know the truth. To be silent, at such a moment, would make me an accomplice in the affair. Your tranquillity proves that you are deceived. At three hundred paces from your palace, the dragoons are exchanging their sabres, and the soldiers their muskets, with the people."—"It is impossible!" cried the king, recoiling with astonishment. An officer of ordnance, M. de L'Aubépin, says respectfully to the king, "I have seen it."

At these words the whole family rose from the table. The king ascended, put on his uniform, and mounted his horse. His sons, the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Montpensier, and a group of faithful generals, accompany him. He passes slowly in review the troops and the few battalions of the National

Guards that were stationed on the *place du Carrousel* and in the court of the Tuileries. The aspect of the king was depressed; that of the troops cold; that of the National Guards undecided. Some cries of *Vive le Roi*, mingled with cries of *Vive la Réforme*, came from the ranks. The queen and the princesses came out on a balcony of the palace, as Marie Antoinette on the morning of the 10th of August; following with their eyes and hearts the king and princes, they saw the military salutes of the soldiers, who brandished their sabres along the front of the lines; they heard also the dull echo of the cries, the words of which they could not understand. They believed in a return of enthusiasm, and reëntered their apartments, filled with joy.

But the king could not deceive himself as to the coldness of his reception. He had seen the dissatisfied or hostile faces. He had heard the cries of *Vive la Réforme*, and of *à bas les ministres*, rising from under the very feet of his horse, as a howitzer of the revolt, which was breaking out even at the gates of his palace. He returned, dejected and in consternation, fearing equally to provoke the struggle or to await it; in that constrained inaction which holds men, and surrounds them with equal difficulties on every side; situations where action alone can save, but where action itself is impossible. Despair is the presiding genius of desperate affairs. It was the misfortune of the king not to have despaired soon enough. He was accustomed to prosperity. This long prosperity of his long life failed him on the last day of his reign.

## XI.

M. Thiers, witness of this accelerated catastrophe, waited on the king, to resign to him the power which was escaping from his hands before he had seized and exercised it. He felt the volatile popularity of a single night gliding from his name to another name. He proposed to the king M. Barrot alone. They could not go further towards the opposition without abandoning the monarchy. M. Barrot had already proved before the people of the boulevards the weakness of a name. He nevertheless devoted himself to the king, and to the task of pacification, without considering that he was about to throw away, in a few hours, a popularity of eighteen years. This immediate devoted abandonment of fortune marked a generosity of character and courage, which raises a man in the conscience

of the future. A subject of railery for the light men of the present day, a title of esteem for impartial posterity, M. Barrot, informed some moments after of his nomination by the king, did not hesitate to take possession of the ministry of the interior, and to seize the shattered helm.

At this moment, the king at the Tuileries was his own only counsellor. Three ministers had sunk beneath his hand in a few hours; M. Guizot, M. Molé, M. Thiers. The queen, the princes, the deputies, the generals, the simple officers of the army and the National Guard, all pressed round him. They beset him with reports and intelligence, interrupted by other reports and conflicting intelligence. Paleness was on the cheeks, tears in the eyes of the women. The children of the royal family softened all hearts by the unconsciousness and security expressed in their faces. All betrayed, by their gestures, attitude, emotion and speech, that fluctuation of ideas and resolution which gives time for misfortune and discourages fidelity. The doors and windows of the apartment on the ground floor, opening on the court, allowed the soldiers and the National Guards to assist with eye and ear at this distress. Their moral courage might have been shaken by it.

A veil should be thrown over the disordered thoughts of the king, and the confusion of his family, lest a contagious discouragement should weaken the force of the bayonets. A citizen of the National Guard, who was on duty under the arch of the cabinet of the king, was melted to tears by this spectacle. A member of the opposition, almost a republican, but a man of feeling and eminently loyal, he sought progress, without desiring ruin. Above all, he did not wish that the cause of liberty should owe its triumph to a cowardly abandonment of an old man, of women and children, by those who were charged to protect them. He approached a lieutenant-general who commanded the troops. "General," said he to him, in a low voice, and with an emotion that rendered his accent imperious, "lead your troops beyond the reach of these scenes of grief. Soldiers must not witness the agony of kings!" The general understood the meaning of these words; he ordered his battalions to draw back.

## XII.

The king, having ascended to his cabinet, was yet listening in turn to the opinions of M. Thiers, of M. de Lamoricière, of

M. de Rémusat and of the Duke of Montpensier, his younger son, when a prolonged discharge of musketry resounded from the extremity of the Carrousel, on the side of the *place du Palais Royal*. At this report, the door of the cabinet opened, and M. de Girardin hastened to the king.

M. de Girardin, lately a deputy, now a publicist, — not so much a man of the opposition as a man of ideas; not so much a man of revolution as a man of the crisis, — was hurried into the affair, where he found danger, vicissitudes of fortune, and greatness. He was of that small number of characters, who always seek an opportunity to enter on the stage, as it were, accidentally, since they are impatient from their activity, their energy, and their talent, and believe themselves equal to all emergencies. M. de Girardin had no fanaticism for royalty, nor antipathy to a republic. In politics he loved only action. Ambitious of intellectual superiority rather than office, of his character rather than power, he had come from no other call but his own impulse. The journal *La Presse*, which he edited, gave him a celebrity in Europe, and a publicity in Paris, which brought him constantly in connection with public opinion. He was one of those men who think aloud in the midst of the people, and whose every thought is the event or the controversy of the day. Antiquity had only the orators of the forum; journalism has created the orators of the fireside.

M. de Girardin, in few and emphatic words, which seemed to shorten minutes and silence objections, said to the king, with mournful respect, that groping among ministerial names was no longer in season; that the hour carried with it the throne and the councils; and that there was but one word which answered to the urgency of the insurrection, — Abdication!

The king was in one of those moments when truths strike without offending. He dropped, however, from his hands the pen with which he was combining the names of the ministers on the paper. He wished to discuss; M. de Girardin, pressing as the occasion, pitiless as proof, did not even admit discussion. "Sire, the abdication of the king, or the abdication of the monarchy, — behold the dilemma! Time does not allow even a moment to seek a third issue to the affair."

Thus speaking, M. de Girardin presented to the king a draught of a proclamation, which he had just written and sent in advance to the press. This proclamation, concise as



fact, merciless as proof, contained only these four lines, which must strike instantly and everywhere the eye of the people.

Abdication of the King.

Regency of Madame the Duchess of Orleans.

Dissolution of the Chambers.

General Amnesty.

The king hesitated. The Duke of Montpensier, his son, led on, without doubt, by the energetic expression of the countenance, gestures, and words of M. de Girardin, pressed his father with more urgency perhaps than royalty, age and misfortune, permit to the respect of a son. The pen was presented, the kingdom torn away by an impatience which did not wait the full and free conviction of the king. The rudeness of fortune towards the king ought not to make itself felt in the precipitation of counsel. On the other hand, blood was flowing, the throne tottered. The very lives of the king and his family were at stake. All can be explained by the solicitude and tenderness of the counsellors. History ought always to receive the version which least humbles and crushes the human heart.

### XIII.

At the sound of the musket-shots, Marshal Bugeaud mounts his horse, to interpose himself between the combatants. A thousand voices cry to him not to mount. They fear lest his presence and his name should be a new signal for carnage. He insists, he advances, he braves the presence and arms of the multitude. He returns without having obtained anything but admiration for his bravery. He dismounts his horse in the court of the Tuileries. His command no longer belonged to him. The Duke of Nemours had been invested with it. The young General Lamoricière, who had upon his name only the prestige of his valor in Africa, galloped across the Carrousel. He overleaped the advanced posts in the midst of a cloud of bullets. He heroically attacked the first groups of the combatants. While he harangues them, he is riddled with shots, his horse is overthrown; his sword broken by the fall. The general, wounded in the hand, having his wound dressed in a neighboring house, remounts his horse, and traverses silently the square to announce to the king that the troops are fatigued and the people are inaccessible to advice.

Upon the retiring steps of Lamoricière the people in fact

poured out of the *rue de Rohan*, upon the Carrousel. They parleyed with the soldiers. The soldiers flowed back in disorder, and hurried into the court of the Tuileries.

The king writes, in the midst of the noise of the insurrection which ascends to him, these words: "I abdicate in favor of my grandson, the Count of Paris; I desire that he may be more fortunate than I."

#### XIV.

This prince did not explain himself respecting the regency. Was it through respect for the law which he had caused to be passed in favor of the regency of his son, the Duke of Nemours? Was it to leave between the people and the ministers a last point of concession to dispute and contend for, in order to gain time? Was it to retain for his house, after him, a jealous power, which he did not wish to pass, according to nature and true policy, to the mother of his grandson, the Count of Paris? We know not. M. Thiers had served the purpose of the king, in pronouncing with a part of the opposition against the regency of the Duchess of Orleans. M. de Lamartine had supported with energy the right of mothers. "There is no good policy which is opposed to nature," cried he. He had been overcome by a feeble majority, through the combined influence of the court, and of the opposition attached to the court. Time sadly proved that he was right. The Duke of Nemours, appointed regent, although young, brave, highly educated, and laborious, was not loved by the people. Nature, while endowing him with intelligence, precocious wisdom, and the courage of his race, had denied him that openness of character which fascinates the heart. His reserve was not favorable to the appreciation of his good qualities. They could not be closely examined. This is only a fault in a private man; it is a misfortune for a prince. Every one who comes before the people should have *prestige*. The Duke of Nemours had only esteem. They saw in him a continuation of the virtues and faults of his father. In changing the king, they would not change the rule. The people wished to change it.

This fault of the king and of M. Thiers, in tearing the regency from the young mother of the infant king, weighed fatally on this last hour of the reign. Louis Philippe and his minister perished from the want of foresight manifested by this

act. If, instead of proposing to the people this ambiguous abdication, which was not explained as regards the regency, and which allowed the combatants to see the Duke of Nemours behind the abdication, M. de Girardin, who announced this act, had offered to the imagination and heart of the nation, a young widow and a young mother, reigning, through her grace and popularity, under the name of her son; if this beloved princess, unassailed amid all these recriminations, had herself appeared in the court of the palace, and presented her child for the adoption of his country, there is no doubt but that nature would have triumphed over the people, for nature would have found an accomplice in the heart and glance of every combatant. Thus sleep for a long time the faults of kings and statesmen, to rise and overwhelm them unexpectedly at the hour when they believe them forgotten.

## XV.

But the Duchess of Orleans, even at this last hour, was confined with her children in the apartments of the chateau she inhabited. The king feared the influence of this woman, young, beautiful, serious, enveloped in her mourning, irreproachable in her conduct, voluntarily exiled from the world, lest the unconscious radiance of her royalty, of her grace, and her spirit, should draw the thoughts of the country upon her, and mark her for the jealousy of the court. This princess lived enclosed with her maternity and her grief. She could not fail, however, to perceive the last faults of the reign, and to become alarmed for the future destiny of her children. She must have also felt grievously the harshness of this law of regency, demanded and voted against her, which took from her, together with the political guardianship of her son, the opportunity of showing to the world those great qualities with which she was endowed. But this bitterness lay concealed in her heart, without transpiring. Her lips had never let fall a single complaint. She reposed her pride in her resignation, her merit in her silence. M. de Lamartine, the unknown defender of her natural rights in the discussion of the law of regency, had never had any correspondence with this princess. He had never even received from her a sign of assent or gratitude for the disinterested and wholly political homage which he had rendered her from the tribune. They assure us that for some time M. Thiers, discontented with the court, and

perhaps repenting the part he had taken for the regency of the Duke of Nemours, turned his thoughts upon this princess. It is possible that the increasing disaffection towards the princes had caused this statesman to reflect, and that he hoped, in fact, to revive the monarchical sentiment through the popularity of a woman and a child. We cannot say. This thought was sufficiently indicated by nature, for a just mind to return to it, after having wandered from it.

As to M. de Girardin, he had sustained, with great force of talent and perseverance, in his journal, the system which M. de Lamartine sustained by speaking from the tribune. After he had seen the Duchess of Orleans, he carried away from those brief and rare interviews a conviction more fully confirmed by his admiration for that princess. Yet never had a single word of hers revealed a suffering ambition or a bitterness concealed. Her griefs were free not only from all conspiracy, but even from all ambition. She had shown the serenity and disinterestedness of a mother who forgets herself entirely among the reminiscences of her husband and the hopes for her son. Yet one may believe that in forcing with so much precipitation from the king that vague abdication which did not transfer the reign to any one, M. de Girardin, and perhaps M. Thiers with him, made an involuntary movement towards the regency of the young widow, and waited to see it proclaimed by the voice of the people.

## XVI.

This idea, if it existed, miscarried before its birth. A mistake destroyed it. The precipitation, natural at such moments, caused them to forget to affix any signature to that proclamation which M. de Girardin threw among the crowd upon the Carrousel and upon the place du Palais-Royal. In vain he braved fire and sword to obtain this truce. The crowd, after having read the manuscripts of abdication, seeing no sanction to their promises, took them for a ruse, and constantly advanced. The son of the Admiral Baudin, going with M. de Girardin to publish these proclamations on the place de la Concorde, was repulsed with the same incredulity and the same perils. The king was consumed with impatience; he received a last ray of hope from the arrival of an old servant, who had become the friend of the king, and remained the friend of the people of Paris. It was Marshal Gérard, an old and simple man, who had passed from the battle-fields of the empire into this court



without having lost the memory of liberty. For a long time heartily devoted to the king, he had lost neither the independence nor the color of his opinions. Brave as a soldier, popular as a tribune, Marshal Gérard was truly the man for the last hour. "Go before these masses," said the king to him, "and announce to them my abdication."

The marshal, clothed in a dull-colored morning dress of the bourgeoisie fashion, with a round hat upon his head, mounts the horse which Marshal Bugeaud had just left in the court-yard. General Duchant, a brilliant officer of the empire, celebrated for his martial beauty and his bravery, accompanies the Marshal Gérard. They sally from the gate. They are received by cries of "*Vivent les braves.*" The old marshal recognized in the crowd Colonel Dumoulin, an ancient officer of the emperor; an adventurous man, led on by the giddiness of enthusiasm and intoxicated by excitement; he calls him by name. "Come," said he, "my dear Dumoulin, behold the abdication of the king, and the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, which I bring to the people. Aid me to make them accept it."

Saying these words, the marshal offers a paper to Colonel Dumoulin. But the republican Lagrange, more active than Dumoulin, seizes the proclamation from the hand of the general, and disappeared without communicating it to the people. The republic would perhaps have been arrested before the name of a woman.

## XVII.

Yet the king, who had promised M. de Girardin, his sons, and the ministers, who surrounded him in their terror, to abdicate, had not yet finished the formal writing of his abdication. He seemed to await other counsel, more conformable to his habitually temporizing policy, and still to contend with fate. One circumstance nearly justified his delays, and reëstablished him and his dynasty on the throne. Marshal Bugeaud, again galloping across the court of the Tuileries, like the harbinger of grateful news, threw himself from his horse and entered, almost with violence, the disordered cabinet, filled with the late ministers and the present counsellors of the monarch. He penetrated the crowd, and came into the presence of the king.

Let us go back one night, and see what had thus far been the course of action of Marshal Bugeaud.

The marshal, as we have seen above, had had for some moments the general command of the National Guards and the

troops. At two o'clock in the morning they brought him his nomination to this post. He immediately mounted his horse, and ordered his staff to head-quarters to form his plan and give the order of battle. The staff were absent; generals, officers and soldiers, all reposed, after the fatigues of the two preceding days, sleeping in their cloaks upon the square, or in the small apartments and on the flat roofs of the immense Louvre. The marshal lost much time before he could collect a few generals and officers of the staff, and obtain information of the number and position of the troops under his command. The number of these troops, which they believed at least fifty thousand men, did not exceed thirty-five thousand active troops. Deducting the number of soldiers destined to guard the forts and barracks, together with those out of the service for various causes, they did not find but about twenty-five thousand combatants of all arms. Troops enough to be opposed to the scattered and confused masses, which had no discipline to unite them, which were stationed as they were formed; but troops already worn out from being stationed for forty-eight hours in the mud, benumbed with cold, exhausted by hunger, laboring under doubt, uncertain which side was right, ashamed to desert the king, in consternation at waging war on the people, waiting to regulate their conduct by the movements of the National Guards, who were themselves wavering between the two armies.

The marshal, with his military instinct ripened by reflection and enlightened by experience in the management of troops, knew that inactivity was the destruction of the moral strength of armies. He changed at once the plan, or, as it were, the chance-movements, thus far pursued. He called to him the two generals who commanded these corps. The one was Tiburce Sebastiani, brother of the marshal of that name, a calm and devoted officer. The other was General Bedeau, distinguished in Africa, and who bears a name highly respected by his companions in arms at Paris. He ordered them to form two columns of three thousand five hundred men each, and to advance into the heart of Paris, the one by the streets which run along the boulevards and terminate at the Hotel de Ville; the other by the streets approaching nearer to the quays. Each of these columns had artillery. The generals must carry, as they advanced, all the barricades they met in their path, raze the fortresses of insurrection, sweep the masses, and concentrate themselves on the Hotel de Ville, the decisive position of the day. General Lamoricière must command the

reserve of about nine thousand men in the precincts of the palace.

The king and M. Thiers had already called and nominated Lamoricière, as a young man, recently become celebrated, and impatient to signalize himself, before the arrival of the marshal at the staff. This young general and Marshal Bugeaud had had grave dissensions in Africa. The coöperation of the chief and the lieutenant might have been endangered by collisions, had they not both of them subjected their resentment to their devotion for the king. They acted with a military frankness worthy of them. The marshal, seeing Lamoricière appear in the group of general officers under his command, advanced towards him and extended his hand. "I hope," said he, "my dear lieutenant, that we have left our differences in Africa, and that we have here only our mutual esteem and our devotion to our duties as soldiers." Lamoricière, worthy of comprehending words like these, was moved even to tears. The tears of the soldier are but those of courage. Touched to the heart, Lamoricière united his counsels with those of the marshal.

#### XVIII.

At the dawn of day the two columns set out. Every moment officers of the staff, disguised as citizens or mechanics, brought the news of their progress to the general-in-chief. These columns did not meet with resistance up to the precincts of the Hotel de Ville. They penetrated the crowd, which opened before them, with cries of "*Vive l'armée ! vive la réforme !*" They overcame, without opposition, the commencement of the barricades, destroyed beneath their feet. New masses of the people, armed, but inoffensive, present themselves before them at all the great outlets of the streets. The two generals, having no pretext to fight them, did not dare to disperse them with the bayonet or cannon. The troops and the people thus stood in each other's presence, conversations were held, and false news circulated. The desire for peace which exists in the hearts of citizens of one country and of the same opinions, the horror of blood uselessly shed at the Hotel de Ville, while at the Tuileries they were, perhaps, already reconciled by political combinations, or by an abdication, weakened the orders in the hearts of the generals, and the arms in the hands of the soldiers.

The marshal, constrained by the reiterated commands of the king, ordered his lieutenants to return. General Bedeau

made his battalions fall back. Some soldiers, they say, threw away their guns, as a sign of fraternal disarming, before the people. Their return through Paris had thus the air of a defection, or of a vanguard of the revolution itself marching on the Tuileries. These troops, already vanquished by this movement, came back, however, untouched, but powerless, to regain their positions on the place de la Concorde, in the Champs Elysées, and in the rue de Rivoli. The French army, when humbled, is no longer an army. It felt in its heart the bitterness of this retreat, — it retains it still.

### XIX.

The marshal, reduced to inactivity, in obedience to the king and ministers, hoped to repress by his presence and his words the masses who were trying to enter the Carrousel. Twice, as we have seen, he rode on horseback before them, and twice, received with cries of "*Vive le vainqueur d'Isly*," he endeavored to persuade them to await the result of the deliberation of the ministers. Once, insulted with the name of butcher of the people, in the rue Transnonain, he went to the person who was shouting it, took up the injury, and proved that he was a stranger to the cruelties committed in these evil days, and he regained the respect and popularity of the masses.

Lamoricière, in his turn, rushed, alone, upon his horse into the troubled waves of these multitudes, harangued them, and came back vanquished, but honored in his exertions for peace.

During these scenes upon the Carrousel, the insurgents, finding the boulevard and the rue de la Madeleine free, collected in masses as far as the entrance of the place de la Concorde, burned the guard-houses that bordered the Champs Elysées, fired on the posts, and massacred the Municipal Guards, odious to the people, since they were the visible instruments of repressing all the disorders and commotions of Paris. These unfortunate soldiers died under the swords of their murderers at the posts and in the hotel of the Minister of Marine. Their cries of distress called for defenders and avengers from the battalions and squadrons stationed in the neighborhood. The officers and soldiers called for the order of march upon the murderers. The chiefs, bound by their instructions, hesitated to repulse these assailants, and confined themselves to saving the lives of the Municipal Guards, under the shelter of their swords. So much did the ministers fear to give, by resistance, a pretext for



the general conflagration of Paris. But this blood shed with impunity did not extinguish it. It only added fuel to the fire, and threw into consternation at the same time victory and defeat.

It was eleven o'clock; at this moment they came to announce to the marshal that the king had revoked his command, and that Marshal Gérard commanded in his stead. He yielded impatiently to these orders. He ran to the king, to represent to him the danger of abdicating after a defeat. On entering the Tuileries, they announced to him the abdication. He rushed, as we have seen, into the cabinet. He was at the side of the king.

## XX.

This prince, seated before a table, held a pen in his hand. He wrote slowly his abdication, with care and symmetry, in large letters, which seemed to carry on the paper the majesty of the royal hand. The ministers of the evening, of the night and the day, the courtiers, the official counsellors, the princes, the princesses, the children of the royal family, all crowded the apartment in confusion, with agitated groups, conversing and whispering. Their faces bore the expression of terror which hurried their resolutions, and broke their strength of character. They were in one of those hours of extremity when hearts are revealed in their nudity; when the mask of rank, of title, and dignity, falls from their faces, and allows their nature to be seen, often degraded with fear. They hear in the distance, rising above the noise of the chamber, shots already resounding at the end of the court of the Louvre. A ball whistles by the experienced ear of the marshal. It buries itself in the roof. The marshal does not inform those who surround him of the evil signification of the noise. The palace of kings might become a battle-ground; in his eyes it was a moment to fight, and not to capitulate.

"Ah! how, sire," said he to the king, "have they dared to counsel you to abdicate in the midst of a combat? Do they not know, then, that it is to counsel you more than ruin—shame? Abdication, in the calm and freedom of deliberation, is sometimes the safety of an empire, and the wisdom of a king. Abdication, under the fire of muskets—that always resembles weakness; and further," continued he, "this weakness, which your enemies will construe as cowardice, will be useless now. The combat is engaged, there is no means of announc-

ing this abdication to the numerous masses of insurgents, and a word spoken to their first lines would not stop the impulse. Let us reëstablish order first, and deliberate afterwards."

"Ah, well," said the king, rising at these words, and pressing with emotion the hand of the marshal, "you then forbid me to abdicate!" "Yes, sire," replied the brave soldier, with respectful energy; "I dare to advise you not to yield, at this moment, at least, to a project which can save nothing, and may ruin all."

The king appeared radiant with joy at seeing his opinion partaken and authorized by the firm and warlike words of his general. "Marshal," said he, with tenderness, and in a voice almost suppliant, "pardon me for having broken your sword in your hands by withdrawing from you the command to bestow it on Gérard. He was more popular than you!" "Sire," replied General Bugeaud, "let him save your majesty, — I will never envy him your confidence."

The king no longer approached the table, and seemed to renounce the idea of abdication. The groups of counsellors were in consternation. They attached to this idea, some of them their safety, others the safety of royalty, others again, perhaps, that of their private ambition. All, at least, saw in it one of those solutions which make a momentary diversion of the crisis, and which relieve the mind from the weight of long uncertainty.

The Duke of Montpensier, the king's son, who appeared swayed even more than the others by impatience for a catastrophe, attached himself closer to his father, beset him with importunities and gestures almost imperious, to induce him to reseal himself, and to sign. That attitude, those words, remain in the memory of the witnesses as one of the most painful impressions of the scene. The queen alone, amid this tumult and this confusion of timid counsels, preserved the dignity, the coolness, and resolution of her rank, as mother, wife, and queen. After having opposed, with the marshal, the project of a precipitate abdication, she yielded to the urgency of the crowd, and retired into the embrasure of a window, whence she regarded the king, with indignation on her lips and heavy tears in her eyes.

The king granted his abdication to his ministers, and joined the queen in the embrasure of the saloon. He was no longer king. Yet no one had legal authority to seize the rule. The

people no longer marched to fight against the king, but against royalty. In a word, the abdication came too soon or too late.

Marshal Bugeaud, before departing, repeated the observation respectfully to the king. "I know it, marshal," said the prince, "but I do not wish that blood should be longer shed for my cause." The king was brave in person. This speech was not a pretence under which he covered his flight, nor a mark of cowardice. This speech should console the exile, and soften the verdict of history. What God approves, men should not dare to blame.

### XXI.

The king took off his uniform, and his decorations. He laid his sword upon the table. He put on a simple black dress, and offered his arm to the queen, to leave the palace to a new reign. The stifled sobs of the spectators alone interrupted the silence of this last moment. Without dazzling prestige as a king, this prince was loved as a man. His long experience gave confidence to the mind. His attentive familiarity strongly attached the heart. His old age, abandoned by fortune for the first time, moved compassion. A political superstition was terrified at the sight of this last fugitive from the throne. They thought they saw depart with him the wisdom of the empire. The queen, hanging on his arm, showed herself proud to fall in her place with the husband and the king, who had been, and who remained, without throne or country on the earth. This aged pair, united in prosperity and exile, were more touching, with their gray hair, than a pair of youthful sovereigns entering the palace of their power and their future. Hope and happiness have splendor. Old age and misfortune are two majesties. The one dazzles, the other melts. The republicans, even, would have wept over the last steps of this father and mother driven from the hearth where they expected to leave their children. The by-standers kissed their hands. They touched their garments. Brave soldiers, who went an hour afterwards to serve the republic,—such as Admiral Baudin and Lamoricière,—moistened with their tears the footsteps of the king. The queen, when receiving these farewells, could not, they say, refrain from reproaching M. Thiers, whose indirect opposition to the king had deeply wounded her womanly heart. "Oh! Monsieur, you do not deserve so good a king. His only vengeance is to fly before his enemies."

The ancient minister of a dynasty, which he had in fact es-

tablished and overturned, respected the grief of a wife and a mother, refrained from all reply, and bowed himself in silence, at this adieu. Did these words fill the hearers with remorse for a too personal opposition to the crown, or with compassion for the blindness of courts? Their silence alone can tell.

## XXII.

At the moment of passing the threshold of his cabinet, the king, turning towards the Duchess of Orleans, who rose to follow him, "Helen," said he, "remain!" The princess threw herself at his feet, to conjure him to take her with him. She forgot royalty, to think only of the father of her husband. She was no longer a princess—she was a mother. It was in vain.

M. Cremieux, an eloquent and active deputy of the opposition, had hastened to the chateau, to give counsel at the last crisis, and interpose between civil war and the crown. At these words, he hurried to the king, and seizing his arm, "Sire," said he, with an inquiring tone, that commanded a reply, "it is well understood, is it not, that the regency belongs to the Duchess of Orleans?"

"No," replied the king; "the law gives the regency to the Duke of Nemours, my son; it does not belong to me to change a law. It is for the nation to do, in this respect, whatever may conduce to its pleasure and its safety;" and he continued to advance, leaving behind him a problem.

The regency decreed to his son had been one of the cares of his reign. He felt humiliated to leave after him, for some years, the government to a woman foreign to his race. Perhaps, also, his far-reaching foresight made him believe that the difference of religion, which existed between the duchess and the nation, portended troubles to the state, and aversion to his grandson. This prince, thoughtful by nature, had experienced for more than twenty years the solitude of the exile, which he occupied with reflecting on the future. Prudence was his genius; it was also his defect. We can truly say, that the excesses of prudence for his dynasty were the three principal causes of his fall: the fortifications of Paris, which remotely menaced liberty: the marriage of the Duke of Montpensier in Spain, portending a war of succession for the interest of his dynasty: lastly, the regency, given to the Duke of Nemours, which took from the cause of monarchy, at this moment, the innocence of a young woman, and the interest for a child, those infallible illusions for the people.



## XXIII.

The duchess, kneeling before the king, remained a long time in this attitude. They had sent to seek carriages in the courtyard. The people had already burned them, as they passed, on the place du Carrousel. A discharge from the insurgents had killed the coachman who went to find them. It was necessary to change this mode of departure.

The king went out by the gate of a subterranean passage that led from his apartments to the garden of the Tuileries. He crossed on foot this same garden which Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and their children, had traversed on the morning of the tenth of August, when flying for refuge to the National Assembly, — road to the scaffold or to exile, which kings never retrace. The queen consoled the king by a few words pronounced in a low voice. A group of faithful servants, of officers, women, and children, followed in silence. Two small carriages, taken at random by an officer in disguise, from the streets where they were stationed for the public service, were posted at the outlet of the Tuileries, at the end of the terrace. The strength of the queen's nerves, over-excited by the long crisis, failed as she came out into the open air. She sobbed, she reeled, she fell at the last step. It was necessary for the king to raise her in his arms to place her in the carriage; he mounted after her. The Duchess of Nemours, the grace and beauty of this court, all in tears, mounted with her children into the second carriage, seeking with restless eye for her husband, who was exposed to the difficulties and dangers to which his duty called him. A squadron of cuirassiers guarded the two carriages. They started at a gallop upon the quai de Passy. At the extremity of the Champs Elysées, some shots saluted the retinue from a distance, and struck down two horses of the escort, under the very eyes of the king. They fled towards St. Cloud.

## XXIV.

The Duke of Nemours remained near the Duchess of Orleans, more anxious for the fate of this princess and of his nephews intrusted to his prudence than for the advancement of his own ambition. This unpopular prince proved himself alone worthy of popularity by his disinterestedness and courage. The Carrousel and the courts were henceforth without defenders. The chateau broken open might become the sepulchre of the Duchess

of Orleans and her children ; the Duke of Nemours had henceforth the responsibility of all these lives and of the blood of the people. The members of the opposition collected under the peristyle of the pavilion de l'Horloge. They summoned the troops to retire, and to deliver the palace to the National Guard. The prince, convinced that the armed and conquering people of the civic soldiery could alone overawe the insurgents, gave the order. The troops retired in silence, and fell back through the garden. The Duke of Nemours remained the last, to protect the departure of the Duchess of Orleans.

While the evacuation of the chateau by the troops was thus effected, a small number of officers and counsellors, some devoted to the dynasty, others to the person, and still others to the misfortune alone of a woman, deliberated in the presence of the Duchess of Orleans and her children. There were seen General Gourgaud, friend of the Emperor, the voluntary companion of his exile at St. Helena, accustomed to misfortune and fidelity, a son of Marshal Ney, M. d'Elchingen, MM. de Montguyon, Villaumez and De Bois Milon. Three cannon-shots shook the windows of the apartment. The duchess gave a cry. It was the artillery in retreat, firing on the people, debouching from the quay upon the Carrousel. The princess sent General Gourgaud to stop the firing. The cannoniers extinguished their matches in token of peace. General Gourgaud reëntered the palace. M. Dupin followed him.

M. Dupin, less a jurist than a legislator, for a long time president of the Chamber of Deputies, an eminent orator, the living tradition of the spirit of resistance and constitutional liberty which formerly characterized Harlay, Molé, and l'Hopital, a democrat in manners and customs, a royalist in habit and feeling, had been, since 1815, the domestic counsellor and friend, at intervals rude and caressing, of the Duke of Orleans, who became king. The austerity of his speech, the bitterness of his sarcasms, had concealed from the eyes of the country the condescension of his personal attachment to the royal family. He avenged himself on the ministers of the crown by his influence with the king. His popularity, compromised by the court, returned to him through his forensic independence. Learned, eloquent, able, the oracle of the magistracy, inflexible in tone, yielding to revolutions, feared by the weak, respected by the powerful, equal to all emergencies, M. Dupin was one of the great authorities of public opinion. Wherever he went, many others went with him

He presented himself at the decisive hour when the revolution desired a standard. He naturally found it in this woman and this child. No hand was more suited to hold it, and cause its adoption.

The duchess saw him enter as an augury of strength and peace. "Ah! monsieur, what do you come to tell me," cried she. — "I come to tell you, madam," replied M. Dupin, with the accent of a sad but strong hope, "that, perhaps, the part of a second Maria Theresa is reserved for you." — "Guide me, sir," said the princess; "my life belongs to France and to my children." — "Ah, well, madam, let us go; there is not a moment to lose. Come to the Chamber of Deputies."

It was, in fact, the only course the duchess could pursue. The regency, already lost in the streets, might be found again in the Chamber of Deputies, if the chamber, discredited with the nation by the spirit of the court, had preserved sufficient ascendancy to stay the monarchy in its fall. The presence of a woman, the graces and innocence of a child, were more winning than all their speeches. Eloquence in action is compassion. The bloody mantle of Cæsar, hung out from the tribune, is less moving than a tear of a young and beautiful woman presenting an infant orphan to the representatives of a feeling people.

The Duke of Nemours, after having received the adieus of his father, and covered his departure with his person, entered the palace as the last battalion of troops defiled from the Carrousel through the garden and the quay.

## XXV.

The duchess set out. She held by the hand the Count of Paris, her eldest son. The Duke of Chartres, her other child, was carried in the arms of an aid-de-camp. The Duke of Nemours, ready at every sacrifice, to save his sister-in-law and the royalty of his ward, walked at the side of the princess. M. Dupin accompanied her on the other side. Some officers of the household followed in silence. A valet-de-chambre, named Hubert, attached to the children, was the whole escort of this regency. This reign had only to pass over the space between the royal gardens and the palace of the representatives, before it was engulfed with the throne.

Hardly had the princess traversed two thirds of the garden, when a column of republicans, who had been fighting since

the evening, constantly increasing and concentrating, entered the palace in spite of the troops, filled the halls, swept away the vestiges of royalty, proclaimed the republic, raised the flag which served as a canopy for the throne, and making but a short halt in the palace they had carried, immediately formed to march on the Chamber of Deputies, upon the footsteps of the regent. It was the column commanded by Captain Dunoyer, who seemed to multiply himself through the struggles of that day.



## BOOK IV.

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### I.

LET us retrace, for a few moments, the rapid and multitudinous course of events, and narrate what was, at the same time, passing at the Chamber of Deputies.

Lamartine, a stranger to every kind of conspiracy against the monarchy, fell asleep overnight in consternation at the blood shed on the boulevard, but firmly convinced that the night which had brought a truce to the conflict, and the day which was going to declare new concessions on the part of royalty, would pacify the movement. Without party in the Chamber, without accomplice in the street, retained by indisposition, he had no thought of emerging from his inaction. What signified his presence in the assembly, to hear only the names and the ordinary programme of a new ministry? The events that were passing were out of his sphere; he learned them, like the public, with indifference or with joy, according as they appeared to serve or to injure the disinterested cause which was dear to his heart.

Some of his colleagues came to him, from time to time, to recount the incidents of the two days. None of them foresaw a final catastrophe to the dynasty. They limited their conjectures to the names and the projects of the ministers imposed on the king by a prolonged sedition.

At half-past ten, however, one of his friends hurried to announce to him that it was feared there would be an invasion of the people at the Chamber of Deputies. Lamartine arose at this news, little as he credited such impotence on the part of the fifty thousand troops who were supposed to be concentrated in Paris. But the danger that might be anticipated for his colleagues made the sharing of it his duty. The popularity of esteem which he enjoyed within and outside the Chamber might render his presence useful and his intervention a shield for the life of citizens or of deputies. The political question seemed to him of no account for the moment. He

came forth from an instinct of honor, and not a political motive. He believed the crisis unfolded. "Yesterday was a twentieth of June," said he, in going out; "it certainly presages a tenth of August. A royalty disarmed, which capitulates under firing, is no longer a royalty. The tenth of August is upon our steps but it is still at a distance." He repaired alone on foot to the Chamber of Deputies. A lowering and dark sky, pierced from time to time by a flash of winter sunlight, resembled the fortune of the day; it was dubious and stormy: the streets were deserted; a few outposts of infantry, with their feet in the mud, and of cavalry, enveloped in their white mantles, with the bridle on the bent neck of their horses, occupied in small numbers the adjacent parts of the Chamber. They allowed him to pass.

While traversing the place du Palais de l'Assemblée, he heard the rumbling of a carriage, and cries of "Vive Barrot! Vive la Reforme!" made him turn his head. He stopped. A hired coach, rickety and covered with mud, drawn with difficulty by two overburdened horses, passed before him; he recognized, on the seat beside the coachman, M. Pagnerre, president of the committee of the opposition party in Paris; behind the carriage, two or three well-dressed citizens waved their hats or handkerchiefs, and made signs to the passers by that all was quieted. A small group of people, composed principally of young men and boys, followed the wheels, uttering shouts of joy. On the back seat of the carriage, the pensive and pale countenance of M. Odilon Barrot bore witness to the agitation of his thoughts and the sleeplessness of his night; he was repairing courageously to his post at the Ministry of the Interior, uncertain whether he was followed by the pacification or the revolt of the multitude. He knew the king had fled, and the palace had been forced; but he pursued his duty, without casting a look behind. Such an hour redeems many a hesitation. The heart of this chief of the opposition never shared in the fluctuations of his mind, and the fluctuations of his mind were never, it is said, aught save the scruples of his conscience.

## II.

Lamartine looked, lamented in his heart, and passed on.

Under the vault of a peristyle of the Chamber of Deputies, two generals on horseback, sword in hand, their countenances excited by riding, their clothes bespattered with mud, had just met, and were conversing aloud as they shook hands; one was

Perrot, general of cavalry, the other unrecognized; — "Well, general," said one of the officers to his colleague, "what news on your side?" — "Nothing serious," replied General Perrot; "the groups on the place de la Concorde are very few in number, and waver at the least concussion of my squadrons; besides, the best troops in Europe could not force the bridge."

While the general thus spoke, he was not yet aware of the departure of the king, the quiescence of the generals who commanded on the other side of the river, and the occupation of the chateau. Events had outstripped hours.

Lamartine, reassured on the fate of the Chamber by these words caught in passing, crossed the court, and entered within the palace.

Seven or eight persons awaited him under the vestibule; they were for the most part journalists of the opposition, and a few active men signalized, since 1830, by their republican opinions corresponding to those of the journal *Le National*. M. de Lamartine had never had relations with that journal; the injustice of its conductors, in regard to him, often resembled a deaf hostility; the *National* painted Lamartine as an ambitious orator, flattering the opposition to procure popularity for himself, but disposed to surrender this popularity to the court for the sake of obtaining power. Oftener it adorned the orator with flowers, in order the better to efface the politician. It rarely missed an occasion to add, as a corrective to exaggerated praise of his talent, contempt of his views. It affected to class the deputy among the poets whom Plato excluded from his republic. On his part, Lamartine mistrusted the noisy opposition of this journal; he thought he saw, beneath this emphatic rage against the throne, certain artifices, perhaps a certain secret understanding with the parliamentary party of M. Thiers. He was doubtless mistaken; but an opposition with such alliances seemed to him as fatal to the constitutional monarchy as to the republic; he liked questions clearly laid down. The ambiguity of parliamentary coalitions was repugnant to him in journalism as well as in the Chamber.

As to the journalists of *La Réforme*, Lamartine knew them only by the aspersions and burlesques that this journal, more frank in tone but extreme and bitter in its opinions, made on his discourses. He had only had occasion to see five or six times his colleague at the Chamber, M. Ledru Rollin, the inspirer and political man of this journal. These relations, independent of politics, had brought him no nearer on any point to

the spirit of *La Réforme*. He had refused to associate himself with the banquets at *Dijon* and at *Châlons*, presided over by M. Ledru Rollin and M. Flocon. He had forcibly censured, in the journal of his department, the evil omens, the posthumous appeals, the sharp words, of these banquets; he had praised, in the party of *La Réforme*, only its frankness of opposition and its talent; he had broken in advance with its doctrines.

### III.

The group of republicans who surrounded Lamartine at his entrance within the passages of the Chamber demanded of him a secret and instant interview in a retired hall of the palace. M. de Lamartine conducted them there. The doors were closed; most of these men were known to him only by sight.

One of them spoke in the name of all.

"Time presses," said he; "events are suspended in uncertainty. We are republicans. Our convictions, our thoughts, our lives, are devoted to the republic. This is not the time for us to disavow this common cause of the people and ourselves, for which our brethren have been shedding their blood for three days. It will always be the soul of our souls, the supreme object of our hope, the determined tendency of our acts and of our writings—in one word, we will never abandon it. But we may adjourn and suspend it in view of interests, superior in our eyes to the republic itself, the interests of our country. Is France ripe for this form of government? Will she accept it without resistance? Or will she incline to it without violence? In a word, is there not perhaps more danger in launching it to-morrow in the plenitude of its institutions, than in retaining it on the threshold, in showing it from afar, and causing it to be more passionately desired? This is the state of our minds—these our scruples; let us satisfy them. We do not know you, we do not flatter you, but we esteem you. The people invoke your name. They have confidence in you—you are, in our eyes, the man for the crisis. What you say shall be decreed. What you will shall be done. The reign of Louis Philippe is ended. No reconciliation is possible between him and us. But can a continuance of temporary royalty under the name of a child, the feeble hand of a woman, and the direction of a popular minister, the delegate of the people, close the crisis and introduce the nation to a republic, under the vain name of monarchy? Will you be that minister? the guardian



of dying monarchy and the birth of liberty, governing this woman, this child, and this people? The republican party is fairly pledged to you by our voices. We are ready to enter into a solemn engagement to place you in power, by the henceforth invincible hand of the revolution which is muttering at these doors, to sustain you in it, to render your position permanent by our votes, our journals, our secret societies, and forces disciplined in the bosom of the people. Your cause shall be ours. The minister of a regency for France and for Europe, you shall be the minister of the true republic for us."

#### IV.

The excited and sincere orator was silent. His colleagues testified their assent to his words by their silence and their gestures.

Lamartine asked a moment's reflection, to weigh in his mind a resolution and responsibility so terrible. He leaned his elbows on the table, and hid his forehead in his hands. He mentally invoked the inspiration of one who alone never deceives himself. He reflected, almost without respiration, for five or six minutes. The republicans remained standing opposite to him, and grouped about the table. Lamartine finally removed his hands, raised his head, and said to them:

"Gentlemen, our situations, our precedents are very different, and our parts here are very singular. You are old republicans at all hazard. I am not a republican of that school. And yet at this moment I am going to be more republican than you. Let us understand each other. Like you, I regard a republican government, that is, the government of nations by their own reason and their own will, the only aim and the only end of exalted civilization; as the only instrument of the advancement of the great general truths which a nation would incorporate in its laws. Other forms of government are regents and guardians of the eternal minority of nations, imperfections in the eye of philosophy and humiliations in that of history. But I have none of the impatience of a man who would move faster than ideas; no absolute fanaticism for this or that form of government. All I desire is that these forms should advance constantly, neither before nor behind the head of the column of the people, but keeping fully up to the ideas and instincts of an epoch. I am not, therefore, an absolute republican like yourselves, but I am a politician. Well, it is as a

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LAMARTINE'S INTERVIEW WITH THE REPUBLICANS.

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politician that I now think it my duty to refuse the support you are willing to offer me, for the adjournment of the republic, if it were to be displayed in an hour. It is as a politician that I declare to you that I do not conspire, that I do not overthrow, that I do not desire the destruction of a throne; but that if a throne crumbles of itself, I will not try to raise it; and that I will only enter into a complete movement, that is to say, the republic!"

There was a moment's silence. Astonishment, a sort of stupefaction mingled with doubt, was depicted on all countenances. Lamartine resumed:

"I will tell you why. In great crises, society requires great strength. If the royal government crumbles to pieces to-day, we are entering on one of the greatest crises that a people ever had to pass through before finding another definite form of government. The reign of eighteen years by one man, in the name of a single class of citizens, has accumulated a flood of ideas, revolutionary impatience, rancors and resentments, in the nation, which will call for a new reign of impossible performance. The indefinite reform which now triumphs in the streets could not define and limit itself, without again throwing into aggression all those classes of the people who would be excluded from the sovereignty. Republicans, legitimists, socialists, communists, and terrorists, separated by their views, would unite in resentment to overthrow the feeble barrier which a government adopted as a truce would vainly attempt to oppose to them. The Chamber of Peers shares the hatred which the people nurse against the court. The Chamber of Deputies has lost all moral authority, through the twofold action of the corruption which disgraces it, and the press which has destroyed its popularity. The electors are but an imperceptible oligarchy in the state. The army is disconcerted, and fears committing parricide by turning its arms against the citizens. The National Guard, an impartial body, has taken up the cause of the opposition. The old respect for the king has been outraged, in the hearts of men, through his obstinacy and defeat. By what force will you to-morrow encompass a throne raised to receive a child? By reform? That is a standard which only conceals the republic. Universal suffrage? It is a riddle, and contains a mystery. With a word and a motion, 't would engulf this relic of monarchy, this phantom of opposition, these shades of ministers who would think to control it. Its second word might be monarchy or empire; its



first would be a republic. You will have only prepared for it a royal prey to devour. Who will sustain the regency? Shall it be the great proprietors? Their hearts belong to Henry V. The regency will be for them only a field of battle, where they may win legitimacy. Shall it be the small proprietors? They are selfish and mercantile; a reign with constant sedition will ruin their interests, and induce them every moment to demand a definite establishment in a republic. Finally, shall it be the people? But they are victorious, they are in arms, they are triumphant everywhere, they have been laboring fifteen years for doctrines which would seize the opportunity to carry the victory over royalty, to the extent of overthrowing society itself.

"A regency will be the *Fronde* of the people — the *Fronde* with the addition of the popular communist and socialist element. Society, defended only by the government of a small number, under a form of royalty which will be neither monarchy nor republic, will be assailed without defence at its very foundations. The people, calmed to-night by the proclamation of the regency, will return to-morrow to the assault, to extort another novelty. Each one of these irresistible manifestations will carry away, with a half concession, a remaining fragment of power; the people will be driven to it by republicans more implacable than you. You will only have left the throne the means of exasperating liberty, without sufficient power to restrain it. This throne will be the standing butt of the opposition, the seditions and the aggressions of the multitude. You will go from the 20th of June, to the 10th of August, as far as the sinister days of September. To-day they will demand of this feeble power the scaffold within; to-morrow, they will exact war without. It cannot refuse anything, or it will be violated. You will allure the people to blood. Woe and shame to the revolution, if it taste it! You will fall back into the year '93 of misery, fanaticism and socialism. Civil war, rendered ferocious by hunger and poverty, this night-mare of utopians, will become the instant reality of the country. For having wished to stay a woman and a child on the brink of a peaceable dethronement, you will plunge France, property and family, into an abyss of anarchy and blood."

## V.

Their countenances betrayed emotion. Lamartine continued:

"For my part, I see too clearly the series of consecutive catastrophes I should be preparing for my country, to attempt to arrest the avalanche of such a revolution, on a descent where no dynastic force could retain it without increasing its mass, its weight, and the ruin of its fall. There is, I repeat to you, but a single power capable of preserving the people from the dangers with which a revolution, under such social conditions, menaces them, and this is the power of the people; it is entire liberty. It is the suffrage, will, reason, interest, the hand and arm of all—the republic!

"Yes," continued he, in the tones of complete conviction, "it is the republic alone which can now save you from anarchy, civil and foreign war, spoliation, the scaffold, the decimation of property, the overthrow of society and foreign invasion. The remedy is heroic, I know, but, at crises of times and ideas like these in which we live, there is no effective policy but one as great and audacious as the crisis itself. By giving, to-morrow, the republic in its own name to the people, you will instantly disarm it of the watchword of agitation. What do I say? You will instantly change its anger into joy, its fury into enthusiasm. All who have the republican sentiment at heart, all who have had a dream of the republic in their imaginations, all who regret, all who aspire, all who reason, all who dream, in France,—republicans of the secret societies, republicans militant, speculative republicans, the people, the tribunes, the youth, the schools, the journalists, men of hand and men of head,—will utter but one cry, will gather round their standard, will arm to defend it, but will rally, confusedly at first, but in order afterward, to protect the government and to preserve society itself behind this government of all;—a supreme force which may have its agitations, never its de-thronements and its ruins; for this government rests on the very foundations of the nation. It alone appeals to all. This government only can maintain itself; this alone can govern itself; this only can unite, in the voices and hands of all, the reason and will, the arms and suffrages, necessary to save not only the nation from servitude, but society, the family relation, property and morality, which are menaced by the cataclysm of ideas which are fermenting beneath the foundations of this half-crumbled throne. If anarchy can be subdued, mark it well, it is by the republic! If communism can be conquered, it is by the republic! If revolution can be moderated, it is by the republic! If blood can be spared, it is by the republic!"

If universal war, if the invasion it would perhaps bring on as the reaction of Europe upon us, can be avoided, understand it well once more, it is by the republic. This is why, in reason and in conscience, as a statesman, before God and before you, as free from illusion as from fanaticism, if the hour in which we deliberate is pregnant with a revolution, I will not conspire for a counter-revolution. I conspire for none — but if we must have one, I will accept it entire, and I will decide for the republic!

"But," added he, rising, "I still hope that God will spare my country this crisis, for I acquiesce in revolutions, I do not make them. To assume the responsibility of a nation, requires a criminal, a madman, or a God."

"Lamartine is right," cried one of the party. "More impartial than we are, he has more faith in our ideas than we ourselves have." "We are convinced," they all cried. "Let us separate; and," they added, addressing Lamartine, "do whatever circumstances shall lead you to think is best."

## VI.

While this was passing in one of the offices of the Chamber, a similar scene was being enacted in a neighboring apartment.

A young man who, notwithstanding his years, was accredited by republicans of more advanced age, M. Emanuel Arago, a son of the illustrious citizen who had created this name, strove to engage M. Odilon Barrot with the party of the republic.

M. Emanuel Arago, who had a few moments before left the office of the *National*, where he had addressed the people from a window, had drawn together, by his name and voice, groups of combatants in the place de la Concorde. Arrested at the outlet of the rue Royale, by the masses of troops stationed in this square, he had asked to speak with General Bedeau. The general had rode up at full speed, and given him permission to pass, as an envoy of the people, on his way to the Chamber, with advice and information touching a cessation of hostilities. M. Arago, in fact, was negotiating with deputies of different shades of opinion in this office, when M. Odilon Barrot came in at the instigation of his friends. M. Emanuel Arago and his friends, the editors of *La Réforme*, could not succeed in winning M. Odilon Barrot. His opinions might be wavering; his duty was decided. He was a minister. His concessions would have been treasons. He resisted with courage; he had

the eloquence of character. There are men who turn back and become greater on the brink of an abyss. M. Barrot was one of these men. He had an heroic despair, and an eloquence worthy of antiquity.

Lamartine, after leaving the republicans who had just surrounded him, entered the Chamber.

## VII.

The tribunes were full and mournful; the benches of the hall were scantily occupied by deputies. Their pale and haggard faces betrayed the sleeplessness of the preceding night, and the auguries of the day. The members, driven every moment from their seats by the internal agitation of their minds, conversed in low tones, bending upon those of opposite opinion scrutinizing glances. An effort was made to read in the countenances of the opposition members the fate of the day. Some sought for information in the lobbies, others ascended the platform of the peristyle to watch from the highest point the intelligible movements of the troops and people on the place de la Concorde. Every minute, distant discharges and volleys of musketry shook the glasses of the dome, and blanched the cheeks of the women in the tribunes. Lamartine was seated alone on his solitary bench. He did not exchange a word with his colleagues during the two hours of this session. His fear was as silent as his hope, or rather he knew not whether he feared or hoped; he was sad. Revolutions are sphynxes. They have a meaning which is only solicited in terror.

## VIII.

M. Thiers appeared for a moment in the ante-chamber, his head bare, his countenance distorted by the revulsion of the scene in which he had just been an actor, or the witness of the departure of the king. The monarchical deputies surrounded him, and pressed him with questions. He bowed as if beneath the weight of destiny, and then rose and lifted his hat above his head, with the gesture of a pilot in time of shipwreck. "The flood is rising — rising," said he, and disappeared in the crowd. This expression filled those who heard it with consternation. It was the cry of distress, stifled by resignation.

The president's chair was empty, as if the thoughts of the Chamber had been visibly absent from this symbol of delib-



eration. M. Sauzet, the president, equally beloved by the Chamber and the king, at length took his seat. M. Sauzet's countenance exhibited the presentiment of the session, the sadness attending the funeral obsequies of the dynasty. Not a single minister was on the government benches. The interregnum was visible everywhere. The eyes of the Chamber look for a man to question, a sign of power to surround. Silence reigned. A young deputy, M. Laffitte, a name fatal to thrones, ascended the tribune. He addressed all parties, particularly the opposition, generous because triumphant, and demanded that the Chamber, occupied with the public safety, should declare its sitting permanent. This was the signal for conclusive moments. The Chamber unanimously adopted the motion. But the monarchical deputies limited themselves to this measure. No initiative measure issued from their ranks. The hour was lost in a vain attempt.

Meanwhile an officer in uniform hurriedly entered the hall. He ascended the steps of the tribune, and whispered in the ear of M. Sauzet. M. Sauzet rose, requested silence, and announced, in a voice of firmness and emotion, that the Duchess of Orleans and her children wished to enter the hall. The announcement of the arrival of the princess excited agitation, but not astonishment. Abdication was predicted. A proclamation of the regency was looked for. The flight of the king was unknown. It was thought natural that the princess, the mother of the young king, should come to present her son for the adoption of the country, through the Chamber of Deputies. The attendants placed two seats and an arm-chair at the foot of the tribune, fronting the assembly. The deputies came down from the upper part of the hall, to be nearer the scene. The spectators in the tribunes bent forward, with their faces turned towards the doors. The attitude of all indicated respect for the place and anxiety for the spectacle.

## IX.

The large door which is opposite the tribune, on a level with the highest seats in the hall, was thrown open. A lady appeared — it was the Duchess of Orleans. She was dressed in mourning. Her veil, half raised upon her bonnet, suffered the eye to rest upon a face impressed with an emotion and sadness which set off her youth and beauty. Her pale cheeks bore traces of a widow's tears, and the anxiety of a mother. It is

impossible for a man to look upon such features without feeling. All resentment to the monarchy vanished from the heart. The blue eyes of the princess wandered over the space, which seemed for a moment to dazzle them, as if to ask shelter from all eyes. Her frail and slender figure bowed before the tumult of applause which welcomed her. A slight blush, the light of hope in misfortune, and joy in mourning, tinged her cheeks. Her smile of gratitude shone through her tears. It was evident that she felt herself surrounded by friends. She held in her right hand the young king, who tottered on the steps, and in her left her other son, the young Duke of Chartres, children to whom their catastrophe was a show. They both wore short jackets of black cloth. White collars fell from their necks upon their dresses, living portraits of the children of Charles I., stepped from the canvass of Vandyke.

The Duke of Nemours, faithful to his brother's memory in his nephews, walked beside the duchess, a protector who would soon need protection himself. The countenance of this prince, ennobled by misfortune, expressed the brave but modest satisfaction of having accomplished a duty at the peril of his ambition and his life. A few generals in uniform, and officers of the National Guard, came down in the train of the princess. She saluted the motionless assembly with timid grace, and seated herself at the foot of the tribune, like an accused but innocent person before a tribunal from which there was no appeal, who had just listened to the trial of the cause of royalty. At this moment this cause was gained in the hearts and eyes of all. Nature will always triumph over policy in an assembly of men moved by the three great powers of woman over the human heart — youth, maternity and pity.

## X.

A word seemed to be expected. The orator's tribune was empty. Who would dare speak in the face of such a spectacle? The scene itself was permitted to speak. Emotion produces reserve.

Meanwhile time pressed. It was necessary to preface the revolution by a vote, or all speech would come too late. A deputy, well known for his independence and intrepidity, M. Lacrosse, generous and frank like all the men of Brittany, with a needless distrust of his influence, arose. With the visible design of drawing out the eloquence of one of the masters of

the tribune, he asked that the floor should be given to M. Dupin.

The intention was good, but it wanted tact. A subdued agitation ran through the assembly, and raised a whispering which swelled almost to a murmur. M. Dupin was regarded as the personal confidant of the king. The leader of his private counsels, he was looked upon, in such a crisis, less as the orator of the nation than as the confidential interpreter of the wishes of the court. It was whispered that the king was going to speak. Distrust took arms in advance against cajolery. Men hardened themselves, through pride, to detect and avoid a snare. It was a drama planned at night in the Tuileries. The trap was seen through, the effect failed. A cry from the heart, a military gesture of M. Lacrosse would have carried away the assembly. A great orator froze it. Everything lies in the hour. It was not the hour for M. Dupin. It was that of an uncultivated but communicable feeling. Lacrosse had that feeling at heart, and would have found it in words.

M. Dupin was sensible of this himself, and he had the instinct of silence. "I have not asked the floor," he said, with astonishment. But the impatient assembly pointed to the tribune—he ascended it.

"Gentlemen," said he, in a tone which betrayed the tremor of the monarchy, "you know the situation of the capital and the scenes which have taken place. They have resulted in the abdication of his majesty, Louis Philippe, who has declared that he has relinquished his power, and bestowed it, in free transmission, on the head of the Count de Paris, with the regency of Madame la Duchesse d'Orleans."

The friends of the dynasty hastened to applaud, as if to seize in the first moment of surprise on that regency which discussion might deprive them of. They pretended to receive as proofs of the inauguration of a new monarchy the shouts of respectful feeling which greeted a child and a woman with the names of regent and king.

M. Dupin wished to register these shouts in the tribune itself, as if to render them irrevocable. "Gentlemen," said he, "these cries, so precious to the new king and the regent, are not the first which have saluted her. She has traversed on foot the Tuileries and the place de la Concorde, escorted by the people and by the National Guard, expressing the same wish. As she has resolved, from the bottom of her heart, to administer the government only with a profound feeling for the public interest,

the national will, and the glory and prosperity of France, I demand that your acclamations be recorded."

Fewer shouts replied to these words. Enthusiasm, like thunder, has but one flash; if one rises he has escaped.

M. Sauzet attempted to fix it. "Gentlemen," said he, in his turn, "it appears to me that the Chamber, by its unanimous acclamations——"

He was not permitted to finish. An unusual noise was heard at the door on the left, at the foot of the tribune. Unknown individuals, National Guards in arms, and men of the people in their working-clothes, forced the door, jostled the ushers at the foot of the tribune, invaded half the hemicycle, and assailed the Duke of Nemours with deep vociferations.

Some of the deputies rushed before, to make a barrier for the princess with their bodies. M. Mauguin, calm and erect, repelled them by his gestures and his breast. General Oudinot spoke to them in a tone of martial anger. He afterwards passed through this crowd to go to the court-yard and summon the aid of the National Guard. He reminded them of the inviolability of the assembly, and the respect due to a princess and a woman, from French bayonets. The National Guards listened to him, and pretended to share his indignation, but took up their arms leisurely, and ended by temporizing with the event.

Oudinot reëntered the hall indignantly. His uncertain opinions as a deputy with regard to the dynasty were only in his heart. As a man and a soldier he resented an insult to a woman.

The sitting, interrupted by this partial invasion of the people, was resumed. The deputies revolted against the insinuations of the president, who would have recorded the acclamations of a few as the vote of all. They rushed forward to the foot of the two staircases of the tribune to utter their protest. M. Marie, a calm and impressive orator, of a strict but moderate opposition, succeeded in ascending it. Others, by noise and gesture, contested his position. He crossed his arms upon his breast, and waited for his right.

The esteem felt for his character redoubled the interest of his speech. His lofty stature, his small but marked features, impressed his person with something tragic, which recalled the Roman bust. He looked down upon the storm without yielding to it, but without subduing it.

Lamartine felt that deliberation would lose its liberty if the regency was discussed over the head of the regent and her sons.



He wished to save both the spirit of the assembly from the oppression of a sentiment, and the duchess from the profanation of her woe. He arose from his seat, and addressing M. Sauzet, said: "I ask the president to suspend the session, for two reasons — the respect due to the national representation, and that due to the august princess who is here before us."

## XI.

The president obeyed this counsel, which at once rendered dignity to the vote, and decency to rank, sex, and misfortune. The Duchess of Orleans hesitated to retire; she seemed to foresee that her presence was the only remaining guarantee for the establishment of royalty. General Oudinot sprang to the tribune, to delay the departure of the princess, or to honor her with a last salute. "An appeal has been made to all the feelings of generosity," said the gallant soldier; "the princess, we have been told, has traversed the Tuileries and the place de la Concorde, alone and on foot, with her children, in the midst of public acclamations. If she wishes to retire, let the doors be opened to her, and our respects encircle her, as she was lately greeted by the salutations of the city of Paris."

No remonstrances against the departure of the princess being heard, in spite of the skilful allusions of the orator to the love of the people, he added, "Let us accompany her wherever she wishes to go."

The princess had but to say, "I would go to the Tuileries," and the Chamber, *en masse*, the people, touched by the spectacle, would have carried her back on the same wave which had just driven her forth.

She dared not interpose a word. Oudinot seemed to wait for it. His sword, doubtless, would have covered the widow and her children. "If she ask to remain within these walls," he continued, "let her remain; and she will be in the right," he added, with an emphasis which seemed to nail the princess to her seat, "for she will be protected here by our devotion."

## XII.

But as the tumult increased at both doors, and at the foot of the tribune, the duchess, respectfully urged by the officers of her suite, by the Duke of Nemours and the deputies of the centre, left her place, mounted the steps she had so recently

descended, and seated herself on one of the last benches in front of the tribune. A group of deputies stood up to protect her. Increasing rumors from without were swallowed up by the interior. M. Marie braved the presence of the august client of the assembly.

"Gentlemen," said he, "in the present situation of Paris, you have not an hour to lose in adopting measures which may have an authority over the populace. Since the morning the evil has made immense progress. What part is to be taken? The regency of the Duchess of Orleans has just been proclaimed; but you have a law which appoints the Duke of Nemours regent. You must obey the law. Still, we must take counsel. In the first place, an imposing government is requisite at the head of the capital, as the head of the entire kingdom. I ask that a provisional government shall be established."

Not a murmur rose at these decided words. Royalty, regency, had all vanished from the mind. The complaisant friends of the regency of the king's eldest son, now thrown into consternation, were sensible how great a fault they had committed in violating the law of nature which had nominated the Duchess of Orleans. There would not now be a gap to close by a new law, a constitution to violate, an interval of time necessary to abrogate and reenact this law, or a monarchy to cast into the gulf with the regent.

"When this government shall be constituted," continued M. Marie, "it will advise in concurrence with the Chambers, and it will have authority over the country. This plan adopted, Paris must be instantly informed of it. It is the only means of reestablishing its tranquillity. At such a moment, we must not lose our time in vain discourse. I ask to have a provisional government organized."

### XIII.

The tribune applauded. No opponent arose. The Duchess of Orleans grew paler. The Duke of Nemours took notes with a pencil, as if he were preparing for a magnanimous renunciation.

A popular orator, M. Cremieux, who had just escorted the king to his carriage, touched with the grandeur of the situation, and the pathos of the spectacle, slipped into the hands of the princess a few words calculated to flatter the nation, and to procure the surrender of empire by the hands of the people

themselves to the widow of the Duke of Orleans. If it was a crime, at least it was a crime of pity. Who would not have committed this crime, if he had found himself beside this poor woman?

Still, M. Cremieux ascended the tribune after M. Marie. "In 1830," said he, "we were too hasty—here we are, in 1848, obliged to begin again. We would not hurry ourselves in 1848. We would proceed regularly, legally, and forcibly. The provisional government which you will name will be not only intrusted with the maintenance of order, but with giving us institutions which will protect all portions of the population, which was promised in 1830, but which has not been fulfilled. For my own part, I confess to you that I have the most profound respect for the Duchess of Orleans. I have just escorted—it was a mournful honor—the royal family to the carriages which carry them away on their journey. I did not fail to perform this duty. But now the populace and the National Guard have manifested their opinions. Well, the proclamation of the regency, which has just been proposed to you, would violate a law already passed; let us appoint a provisional government." (*The applause increased, and became general.*) "Let it be just, firm, vigorous, and friendly to the country to which it can address itself. We have now reached what the revolution of July should have given us. Let us profit by events. Let us not leave to our children the task of renewing this revolution. I ask for a provisional government, consisting of five members."

While nearly the whole assembly adopted this motion by applause or resignation, the young king, at his mother's knee, cast a bewildered look on the tumultuous movement of the assembly, and applauded with his little hands the motion which dethroned him. The duchess crumpled in her hands the paper which contained the words noted down by M. Cremieux. She made M. Dupin read them, and he appeared to approve of them.

#### XIV.

M. Odilon Barrot came in, and with a slow and solemn step mounted the orator's staircase, which he had so often ascended and descended amidst the applause of the opposition. His face was pale, his brows contracted by anxiety, his eye darker and fuller of doubt than ever. His forehead seemed shadowed

by the cloud of the future. He was looked upon with respect. His decision may be doubted, his conscience never. Disinterested patriotism is his religion. Popularity is his only weakness. He had fluctuated all his life between the republic and monarchy, tending always towards the popular state, and reserved towards the throne. He was forced to make an election—this hour summed up and interrogated his life. It pitilessly demanded of him the ultimatum which, in 1830, he asked of Lafayette at the Hotel de Ville. M. Barrot is the Lafayette of orators; the republic or monarchy hung upon his lips.

"Never," said he, "have we had more need of coolness and prudence. Would you were all united in one sentiment, that of saving the country from the most detestable of scourges, a civil war! Nations do not die! But they may become weak through internal dissensions, and never had France greater need of all her greatness and all her strength. Our duty is all marked out. Fortunately, it possesses that simplicity which impresses a whole nation. It addresses itself to its most generous and genial qualities, its courage and its honor. The crown of July rests on the heads of a child and a woman."

The centre of the assembly, where the friends of the dynasty were assembled, saluted anew these words with frenzied plaudits. They thought they saw destiny inclining in the direction to which the popularity of M. Barrot leaned. The duchess herself, with a happy instinct of gratitude, rose and saluted the assembly. All her gestures inspired a movement of curiosity and an expression of tender interest in attitudes and faces. She resumed her seat.

The young king rose at a sign from the princess, and in his turn bowed to those who had applauded his mother. The Duke of Nemours whispered the duchess. She rose again, with more visible timidity. She held a paper in her hand. She shook it, as she showed it to the president. A voice, feminine, clear and vibrating, but choked by emotion, issued from the group that surrounded her, and with a slight trembling, sent a light murmur through the assembly. It was the duchess, who asked permission to speak to the representatives of the nation. Who would have resisted this voice? Who would not have felt the tears, by which it was doubtless interrupted, fall upon his heart? It was all over with the discussion. The president did not see this gesture, or hear this voice, or



affected not to see or hear them, to leave the minds of the assembly to M. Barrot. The duchess, silenced and terrified at her own audacity, resumed her seat. Nature, vanquished, remained mute. What could eloquence achieve?

M. Barrot resumed. "It is in the name of political liberty in our country; it is in the name of the exigences of order particularly; in the name of our union, and our harmony in circumstances of such difficulty, that I ask my whole country to rally round its representatives, and the revolution of July. The more grandeur and generosity there is in thus sustaining and raising up innocence, the more courage my country will display in its devotion. As for me, I shall be happy in consecrating my existence, and all the faculties I have in the world, to secure the triumph of this cause, which is that of true liberty in my country.

"Can it possibly be, that what we decided by the revolution of July can be called in question? Gentlemen, the crisis is difficult, I confess, but the country possesses such elements of grandeur, generosity, and good sense, that I am convinced it will be sufficient to appeal to them, to induce the population of Paris to rise around this standard. There are all the means to insure the liberty which this country has the right to claim, to reconcile it with all the necessities of order which are so necessary to it, to rally all the vital forces of this country, and to meet the great trials which are possibly reserved for it. This duty is simple, and traced out by honor, and the true interests of the country. If we do not know how to fulfil it with firmness, perseverance, and courage, I know not what may be the consequences. But be convinced, as I said in the commencement, that he who has the courage to take the responsibility of a civil war, in the heart of our noble France, is guilty in the highest degree,—a criminal to his country, to the liberty of France, and of the entire world. As for me, gentlemen, I cannot assume this responsibility. The regency of the Duchess of Orleans, a ministry taken from the most approved opinions, will give further pledges to liberty; and may an appeal to the country, to public opinion in all its liberty, be pronounced then, and pronounced without straying into the rival pretensions of civil war, in the name of the interests of the country and of true liberty. I could not take the responsibility of any other position."

XV.

This address died away in silence, or in murmurs. Time had glided on while the orator was speaking. M. Barrot was already in the past. The present was no longer his. The future had escaped him.

M. de Larochejaquelein sprang to the tribune. The son of the hero of La Vendée, M. de Larochejaquelein had accepted the responsibility of the cause and glory of his father. But though a Vendean at heart, he was liberal and almost republican by intelligence. In default of a legitimate king, decapitated or proscribed by the omnipotence of events, he acknowledged the people as king. He appealed to the insurrection of 1830, to the liberty of all time. His skill was frankness; his parliamentary strategy, honor; his eloquence, the sudden and always generous cry of his conscience. In the midst of so many orators, he was the knightly orator, the gentleman of the tribune. His voice had the explosions of a cannon on the field of battle. His fine countenance, his hair, thick as a lion's mane, his lofty forehead, his advanced breast, his heroic gestures, made an impression on all eyes. A certain joyousness of tone rendered him pleasing to the people, who forgave his royalist name in favor of his opposition to the new royalty.

On seeing him spring to the tribune, it was thought he was about to claim the crown for Henry V. A murmur revealed this thought. M. de Larochejaquelein heard it, and refuted it by a gesture.

"No one respects more than I do," said he, bowing slightly to the Duchess of Orleans, "no one respects more than I do, or feels more profoundly than I do, whatever interest there is in certain situations. I do not meet my first trial. I do not come here to raise mad pretensions in opposition to those alluded to by M. Barrot. No. But I think M. Barrot has not served as he wished the interests he would have saved. Perhaps it belongs to those who, in past times, have always served kings, to speak now of the country and the people." Then, drawing himself up to his full height, and addressing the deputies of the centre with a withering gesture of truth and defiance, "To-day," he exclaimed, in the deepest roar of his voice, "you are nothing! nothing!"

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## XVI.

This phrase seemed to have transferred to the assembly the insurrection of the street. The centre, rising, broke out into cries and gestures of indignation and revolt. "When I said," resumed the unshaken orator, "you were nothing, I did not think to raise such a tempest. It is not I, a deputy, who should tell you that as deputies you exist no longer. I say, that the Chamber exists no longer as ———"

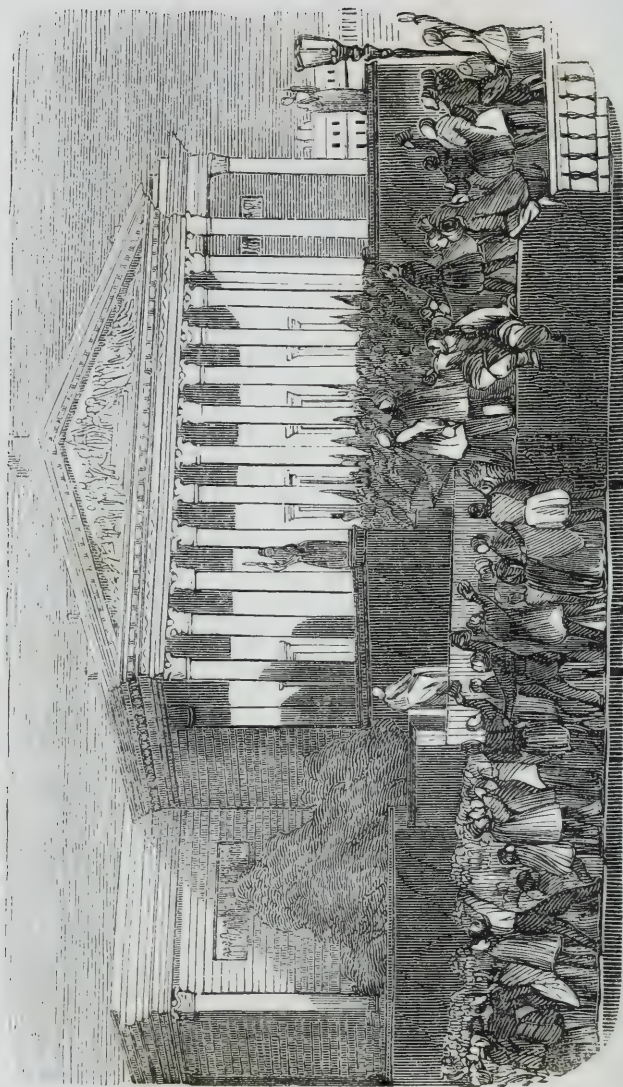
The people assumed the burthen of finishing the sentence suspended by the orator. They were heard rushing against the door on the left, at the foot of the tribune. The clash of arms, the cries, shouts, questions, and groans of men, confounded together, rang through the corridors.

The hall and the tribunes sprang up at a bound. Men with outstretched arms, bayonets, sabres, bars of iron, and torn standards above their heads, forced their way into the hemicycle. It was the column of Captain Dunoyer, swelled by the republicans it had recruited on its route. This column had first entered the Tuileries pell-mell, with the masses of insurgents who had invaded the chateau by all its entrances. They had there saved the Municipal Guards, and the soldiers forgotten in the retreat. Afterwards reaching the throne-room, the column had been there preceded by Lagrange, the enthusiastic combatant of the insurrections of Lyons and Paris.

Lagrange held in his hand the abdication, which he had taken, as we have seen, from Marshal Gérard, at the moment when the old warrior displayed it before the people to disarm them.

Lagrange, mounted on a bench, read the abdication, and then, surveying his auditory with an inquisitive look and a smile of disdain, he seemed to ask if this miserable satisfaction were sufficient for the blood poured out for three days. "No! no!" cried the victors. "No royalty — nor reign!" — "Bravo, friends," cried Lagrange, "we must have the republic!" At this word, the applause broke forth. Orators took the very throne for a tribune. They mounted it, and there proclaimed the abolition of royalty. Captain Dunoyer and his men detached one of the flags that decorated the dais of the throne. Others imitated them, tore the standards, divided the rags, and made trophies, scarfs, and cockades of them. Captain Dunoyer rallied around the flower of his men, summoned by his voice from the spectacle of the destruction of the chateau. He





THE PEOPLE SURROUNDING THE HALL OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

re-formed his column, and cried, "To the Chamber! *et us* pursue royalty into the asylum where its shadow has sought refuge."

The column crossed the Seine, and moved along the quay d'Orsay, amid cries of "Down with the regency!" It was swelled in its progress by those men whom popular currents draw in, as an overflowing river absorbs, without selection, all the purity and impurity upon its banks. A butcher's boy, his apron stained with blood, brandishing a cutlass in his hand; a bare-headed and bald old man, with a white and bristling beard, armed with a drawn sword of antique fashion, taken from some museum, whose guard was formed by a loaf pierced by the long blade, — a living model of the painter's studio; other vagabonds, attracting attention by their rags and the singularity of their arms and attire, placed themselves at the head of the National Guards and combatants, like so many eruptions of the volcanic explosion of the people. Pupils of the Polytechnic School marched between these men and the column. They advanced in double-quick time. The outposts of the line in vain crossed bayonets; the republicans beat down the arms of the soldiers, passed them, and perceived the court carriages, which were waiting for the duchess, at the doors of the Chamber. They were afraid that the supplications and tears of a woman would deprive them of the revolution. They advanced tumultuously to the gate opposite the bridge. Two thousand men, in battle array, commanded by General Gourgaud, stayed without repulsing them. They were reasoned with in vain. They were called upon to respect the inviolability of the representation. "What!" replied one of them, "when our fathers so often crossed the threshold of the National Assembly, and the Convention, shall we not once pass the doors of courtly corruption?"

## XVII.

General Gourgaud presented himself and addressed them. He labored, at least, to temporize with them. "Wait," said he; "I will myself enter the hall, and give you an account of their doings."

During the brief absence of the general, a party of republicans climbed and crossed the wall of the exterior enclosure, the steps of the peristyle, and tried to force the entrances which open under the columns of the façade. "Stop, my lads," cried



Gourgaud, rejoining them. "M. Cremieux is in the tribune. He is now opposing the regency. M. Marie, whose name is familiar to you, an incorruptible defender of your cause, will himself announce it to you."

The name of Marie was heard with respect. The military head of the general, the reflection of the name of Napoleon on his, pleaded for him. "We believe you, general," cried Capt. Dunoyer, the leader of the column. "But the friends of the people are few in the Chamber. The purchased majority will stifle their voices. It will be too late, and the country will curse you for having stayed our steps." At these words, Gourgaud, finding it impossible to quell their impetuosity, yielded, and stood aside. The troops remained neutral. The National Guards applauded. M. Marie showed himself in vain; his voice was borne down by the tumult, his arms compressed by the crowd. This crowd opened, overthrew and trampled down the sentinels, ushers, and representatives, who endeavored to oppose the torrent. Col. Dumoulin, one of Napoleon's old ordnance officers, who united the fanaticism of his military reminiscences to the republican fanaticism, threw himself into the head of the column, as if to lead it to an assault. He tore the standard of the throne from the hands of one of the combatants, climbed the orator's stairway, and resting the standard staff upon the marble of the tribune, seemed to wait for an orator to follow him and proclaim the revolution.

At the foot of the throne, beneath the folds of the banner, an old man, with a mild and calm countenance, rested on the pommel of a long, naked sabre, like a caryatic image of the victorious and satisfied people.

The butcher's boy, knife in hand, crossed the empty space between the tribune and the steps. The deputies fell back in horror, shielding themselves from contact with his bloody garments. They formed a denser group on the upper benches around the Duchess of Orleans. The princess, unintimidated, took notes with a pencil on her knee. She was doubtless searching her heart for words that would best save her son. No gesture or cry of the invaders sought to impose their will upon the national representatives. They seemed to come as spectators, rather than masters, of the lot which the assembly should mete out to them. Everything seemed suspended and petrified in general expectation.

## XVIII.

The rumor spread through the journalists' tribune, that the revolution had been betrayed; that men, brought forward and excited by the partisans of the regency to mislead or baffle its *dénouement*, had mingled with the victors of the Tuileries on their entrance into the hall. This rumor appeared to be well founded. A republican, astonished at the apathy of the first groups introduced into the Chamber, M. Marrast, sprang from the journalists' tribune, where he had been noting the steps of the revolution; "These are the false people," cried he, passing through the lobby — "I go to summon the true."

While a new wave of popular invasion was announced without, within the silence and indecision continued. M. Ledru Rollin, standing at the foot of the tribune on the left, strove to ascend the steps.

Almost the only republican in the assembly during many years of his membership, the inspirer of the republican press, the orator of the democratic banquets, the declared enemy of the arrangements and the reservations of the halfway agitations of the dynastic left; pushing opposition, in the Chamber, to that point where faction commences; out of the Chamber, to the limits where it becomes sedition; M. Ledru Rollin, with a youthful, large and sanguine head, fiery in voice and gesture, but preserving the studied coolness of the politician under the apparent impulse of the orator, seemed to be a man fitted for the crisis, and looked for by it. His words, strongly impressed by a study of the form of plebeian eloquence, had a little of the posthumous tone of the Convention. His discourse savored of the lamp of Danton. It was seen his rich and versatile imagination often turned to the past as a model for the future, and that he regretted the loss of opportunities for strife, glory, and historic death, in the past drama of the great revolution.

Isolated at the extremity of the chamber in premature republicanism, M. Ledru Rollin was only distinguished by his talent. His colleagues, up to this day, had listened to him with more curiosity than terror. In their eyes he was only a revolutionary phantom; in their ears, only an echo of a period forever silent and buried. Suddenly the parts were changed. It was now his colleagues who fled to the past — the impossible had become the actual.

"In the name of the people, everywhere in arms," said he, with the gesture of a leader, pointing to the troops behind him,

"in the name of the people, masters of Paris, whatever may be done, I come to protest against the species of government which has just been proposed at this tribune. I do not, like you, perform a new act; for, in 1842, on the discussion of the regency law, alone within this hall I declared that this law could not be passed without an appeal to the people. For two days we have been fighting for our rights. Well, if you resist, if you pretend that a government by acclamation, that an ephemeral revolutionary government exists, we will fight on in the name of the constitution of 1791, which rests upon the country, which reposes on a history. There is no regency possible under an usurping form! I protest, in the name of the people, against this usurpation. You speak of order, and the effusion of blood! Ah! the effusion comes home to us, for we have seen it near enough to our persons. Three thousand men are killed!"

At these words the butcher's boy sprang to the steps which led to the Duchess of Orleans' seat, doubtless to avenge his brethren. "We must make an end of them," he muttered between his teeth.

M. de Mornay, the son-in-law of Marshal Soult, a member of the opposition, but generous and brave, held back the butcher's boy by his clothes. The deputies barred his way, and repulsed him with a burst of indignation. The fellow was removed. M. Ledru Rollin resumed his speech, and even developed and prolonged the argument too much. Feelings are impatient as moments. "Press the question, then," M. Berryer called out to him, "and conclude upon a provisional government."

The legitimate royalty and the republic came to an understanding without concert to suppress a government of acclamation and surprise, which interposed between their hopes and the *dénouement*.

M. Ledru Rollin continued; he cited the abdications of Napoleon and of Charles X. Both deceived. The assembly grew cold—the time was lost. "Make an end," repeated M. Berryer; "we know history." M. Ledru Rollin finally ended by demanding the nomination of a provisional government by the people, and a convention.

## XIX.

The steps of both sides of the tribune were besieged by National Guards young men of the schools, combatants, and ora-

tois. "Lamartine ! Lamartine !" cried the people, and a part of the assembly. Deputies from all the benches of the Chamber pressed round Lamartine ; others made significant signs to him, pointing out the tribune, some with the expectation of seeing him ascend it to complete the revolution, others to moderate and regulate by joining it.

Lamartine, motionless and silent from the commencement of the session, trembled at the thought of speaking. He felt that a word would draw the undecided revolution to a republic fraught with problems, or a regency full of anarchy. A third element of irresolution gave hesitation, not to his convictions, but to his heart. — That was pity.

Frequently solicited to appear at the court of the Duchess of Orleans, who was fond of letters, he had severely denied himself all relations with this princess, lest gratitude should one day involve his political liberty. But he admired, from a distance, the widow of the Duke of Orleans, a stranger and exile, denied her proper position as a mother by a jealous and cruel law. Alone in the Tuileries, between a tomb and a throne, she had nothing of happiness but mourning, nothing of royalty but the prospect, or of maternity but its cares. She might be pronounced equal in all things to her destiny, by her genius, her soul and her tears. Her countenance revealed all these mysteries. Her beauty contained her thoughts. The heart of Lamartine must have been a hundred times tempted to devote himself to this living poetry, and to cause the restoration of a sovereignty of which the iniquity of the law had deprived her. Was she not a queen in imagination ? The moment had come for the realization of this dream. To accomplish it nothing was to be done but throw into the tribune the cry with which every heart was filled. The gestures and voices which impelled him thither made Lamartine the arbiter of fortune. The somewhat severe austerity, which he had till that moment shown, gave an irresistible authority to his decision. The presence of the duchess, her paleness, her suppliant look, the children pressed to her heart, were half of the eloquence necessary to subdue an assembly of feeling men. Never had an orator before him such clients. They recalled those trains of dethroned women and children which the orators displayed before the Roman people to move their hearts. The French people are much more easily melted to tears.



## XX.

Lamartine had but to say to the princess and her sons: "Arise! You are the widow of the Duke of Orleans, whose death and memory the people have crowned in you! You are children bereft of their father, and adopted by the nation! You are the innocent victims of the faults of the throne, the guests and suitors of the people! You take shelter from the throne in a revolution! This revolution is just, it is generous, it is French! It does not war with women and children. It does not grasp the inheritance of widows and orphans. It does not plunder its prisoners and guests. Go and reign! It restores you from compassion to the throne which was lost by the faults of which you are only the victims. The ministers of your grandfather have injured your inheritance — the people restore it. They adopted, they will fill for you the room of your grandfather. You had but a prince for your guardian — you shall have a mother and a nation!"

## XXI.

The Chamber would have risen *en masse* at these words, inspired by the sight, the tears, the faltering words of the duchess, by the child lifted in its mother's arms and borne to the tribune. Lamartine would have carried the assembly and the National Guards present at the palace, in the suite of the princess, to the platform of the peristyle. Thence he would have shown the widow and the child to the wavering people and the faithful troops. The acclaim would have been sure. The procession, swelled in its march by National Guards and the populace, would have carried back the duchess and her children to the Tuileries. He would proclaim the regency. What an ending! What a drama! What a *dénouement*! What a triumph of the heart over the reason! of nature over policy!

## XXII.

Lamartine had these words upon his lips, these gestures in his hands, this act in his imagination, these tears in his eyes. He did not yield to the noble temptations of the man of imagination. He plucked his heart from his breast; he controlled it by his grasp, that he might listen only to his reason. This

recalled to him yet more forcibly what he had said two hours before in the republican council.

A regency, in the midst of a crisis which had raised the people, drawn in the National Guard, dissolved the army, overturned the throne, expelled the king, incited universal suffrage, suspended work, and thrown two hundred thousand workmen, hungering for their rights and their bread, into the street, was not peace : it was a short and tempestuous truce.

The sanguinary revolution was not finished ;—it would recommence, terrible, convulsive and insatiable, with this feeble government of sentiment and surprise. Lamartine would have saved the present, lost the future ; and relieved his feelings, but ruined his country. He did not believe he had the right to satisfy his heart at the expense of his country, and to destroy thousands of lives for the sake of playing a fine part for a moment in the effeminate drama of sentimental politics. It would have been easy, it would have been sweet, for him to have dropped from the tribune the tear which had gathered in his eyes, as in the eyes of all. But this tear would have become a torrent of the blood of citizens. He restrained. It was one of those heart-agonies which cost nature the severest struggle. It was not a fault of conscience he would ever repent. He would have destroyed, not only the republic, but the very victims of the catastrophe to which he would have doomed, by crowning them.

### XXIII.

At last he ascended, or, rather, was carried into the tribune. A profound silence was established as soon as the orator's name was announced to the people. He dared not raise his eyes to the princess, for fear he should falter in his speech, or prove false to his painful resolution.

With a voice deep as the abyss of the destiny he was about to fathom, "Gentlemen," said he, "I feel, as deeply as any one among you, the twofold sentiment which has just moved every one within these halls, at beholding the most touching sight that human annals can present, that of a princess, august in her misfortune, shielding herself by the innocence of her child, and coming from the heart of an invaded and abandoned palace, to throw herself into the bosom of the asylum of popular representation."

At these words, some anticipated an invocation to pity,

others a weakness of patriotism; and a murmur of applause from the centres, and discontent from the people, rose and mingled in a slight rumor. Lamartine perceived it, and bending on the centres and the people a look in which his thoughts were still unread, "I demand," said he, "that I may be permitted to finish my phrase, and I beg you will wait for that which follows."

The silence and anxiety were redoubled. "I said, gentlemen, that I had shared with you the feeling which had just agitated this interior; and here I make no distinction between the national representation present in ourselves, and the representation of the people of Paris, mingled with us on these benches. This is a moment of equality, and this equality will, I am sure, only serve to make the people voluntarily recognize, in us, the right of reëstablishing concord and public peace!" (*Yes! yes!* exclaimed the groups of combatants standing at the right of the orator, at the foot of the tribune.)

"But, gentlemen," continued the orator, "if I share the emotion inspired by the touching spectacle of the greatest human catastrophes; if I share the respect with which misfortune also fills us, whatever may be our political opinions; I do not share, with less enthusiasm, the respect due to a people fighting for three days for the overthrow of a retrograde government, and for the reëstablishment, on a basis henceforth immutable, of the empire of order and the empire of liberty; and, for this reason, I am not deceived by the illusion recently manifested in this tribune. I do not imagine that a momentary acclamation, extorted by an honorable emotion from an assembly softened by a natural feeling, can found a solid and incontestable government for thirty-six millions of men. I know that what one acclamation can raise up, another acclamation can sweep away. I know that, whatever may be the nature of the government, it concerns the wisdom and interests of the country to apply ourselves to secure an issue from the crisis in which we are placed; that it is important for the whole people, for those especially who have shed some drops of their blood in this struggle, it is important for them to have cemented with this blood, not an ephemeral government, but a stable, national, popular, in fine, an invulnerable establishment."

"*Yes! yes!*" shouted the combatants, waving their flags, brandishing their arms, and showing the blood and powder-marks upon their hands.

"Well," resumed Lamartine, with a firmer energy of reflection

tion in his tone, "how shall we reach it? How shall we find a government in the midst of the floating elements of this wreck, in this tempest which sweeps us all away, where a popular wave swells every moment, even within this enclosure, the wave which has submerged us? How shall we find this invulnerable base? How, gentlemen? By going to the heart of the people and the nation. By extracting from the national rights this great mystery of universal sovereignty, which gives birth to all order, all liberty, and all truth. Hence, far from having recourse to these subterfuges, these surprises, these momentary emotions and fictions, of which a nation, you see, repents sooner or later, when these fictions die away, — for this reason I sustain the double motion made, and which I should have been the first to propose from this tribune, the proposition, first of a government of necessity, the urgency of circumstances, a government which staunches the blood that flows, a government which suspends civil war among citizens."

## XXIV.

At these words, as if Lamartine's idea had been a proclamation of peace accepted by the people, they clapped their hands, and, with a gesture significant of the ratification of the truce, the old man with the long beard, standing at the orator's feet, solemnly returned his sabre to its scabbard.

Lamartine resumed: — "A government that shall clear up the terrible misunderstanding which has existed for some years between the different classes of citizens, and which, by preventing us mixing together, and recognizing in ourselves one people, prevents us from loving and embracing each other in true unity.

"I demand, therefore, the instant establishment of the right of public peace, the right of blood yet flowing, the right of this people, exhausted by the glorious work it has accomplished in three days. I demand the institution of a provisional government."

(The applause extended through the entire Chamber, who saw that the situation of affairs offered no other path of safety.) "A government," he continued, "which shall not commit itself, through our resentment, our desires, or our present anger, on the nature of the definitive government which it shall please the nation to adopt when it shall have been consulted."

(A thousand braves burst forth at this reserve of the national rights.)



"That's it! that's it!" cried the people themselves. "Nominate! nominate! nominate the members of the government."

"Wait," replied the orator. "The first mission of the government will be to establish the imperative truce between the citizens; the second, to convoke the entire electoral country, — and when I say entire, I mean to embrace every one who bears in his title of man, with the capability of intelligence and will, his title of citizenship. A last word. The powers which have succeeded for fifty years —"

## XXV.

The last sentence of the orator was cut short by a salvo of fire-arms, whose reverberation shook the tribune and rolled along the corridors. The people present uttered a cry of joy, and extended their hands to the door. The representatives sprang to their feet. The doors which separated the tribune from the lobbies were beaten in by the butts of muskets or the pressure of the robust shoulders of a new reinforcement of assailants.

This was the vanguard of about three hundred men, who had left the Tuileries after the sack of the chateau. Heated by three days' fighting, some of them intoxicated by the smell of powder and the march, they had just crossed the place de la Concorde, under the eyes of generals who had commanded their bayonets to open before them. Having reached the outer doors of the assembly, their comrades in the interior introduced them at a sign from M. Marrast. Guided by accomplices acquainted with the secret passages of the palace, they crowded together in the lobbies, and rushed with cries of death into the spectators' tribunes. Their jackets torn, their shirts open, their arms bare, their fists closed like masses of muscle, their hair bristling and burned by cartridges, their faces inflamed with the delirium of revolution, their eyes dazzled at the unwonted aspect of the hall which they looked down upon over thousands of heads, — all denoted in them the workmen of fire, who had just given the final blow to the last retreat of royalty. They strode over the benches, jostled and crushed the spectators in the tribunes; they raised in one hand their hats or fur caps, brandishing some weapon of attack — pike, bayonet, sabre, musket, or iron bar. "Down with the Regency!" "Vive la République!" "Out with the corrupt!" The ceiling shook with these shouts.

The same irruption exploded and poured through the already

closed up doors which opened at the foot of the tribune. The leader of the column, Captain Dunoyer, waved above the head of the orators the tri-colored and gold-fringed flag, the trophy of the subverted throne of the Tuileries. The terrified deputies turned pale at this testimony of popular victory. "This standard proves to you," cried Captain Dunoyer, "that here there is no other will but ours; and without there are an hundred thousand fighting-men, who will submit no longer to king or regent." Many deputies glided from their seats, and, one by one, escaped through the different doors. "Room for the traitors!" "Shame on the cowards!" shouted the people from the tribunes. The Duchess of Orleans remained almost discovered and abandoned, pale and trembling for her children. The people did not see her, as she was concealed behind a screen of deputies.

## XXVI.

Lamartine was still standing in the tribune, which new assailants constantly disputed with him. The president, Sauzet, put on his hat, as a signal of distress, and the violation of the assembly: a tardy signal. At this sign, the irritated people threatened the president by word and gesture. A man sprang to him and took off his hat, to save his life by this forced token of respect for victory.

At this moment a sinister rumor of deep contention attracted all eyes to one of the tribunes on the right. A group of combatants rushed thither as to the breach of a city taken by storm. Their arms, their gestures, their impatient cries, betrayed the most excessive and criminal resolution. Musket-barrels and the steel of bayonets were seen undulating in contrary directions, like spears of corn tossed by opposing winds. "Where is she? where is she?" cried some of the more curious than evil-intentioned combatants, pointing to the place in the centre where the Duchess of Orleans and her children were still forgotten and buried up, as it were, in a group of deputies hardly dense enough to conceal her.

At these cries and gestures, the princess was dragged out of the hall. She fell, with her slender suite and her children, into the midst of a tumult of assailants that deluged the outer corridors of the tribunes. She with difficulty escaped insult, suffocation and death, thanks to her sex, to her veil which prevented recognition, and the arms of a few courageous deputies, among whom

M. de Mornay was still distinguished. But separated by the undulation of the groups from her two children and the Duke of Nemours, she succeeded, with her defenders, in threading the crowd of insurgents alone, and descending the staircase which opened on the Salle des Pas Perdus.

There fresh waves of the people surrounded and submerged her, bearing her from one wall to the other, like a wreck in a tempest. They finally threw her, half stifled and almost fainting, against a glass door, whose panes gave way before the frail body of a woman. Coming to herself, she missed her children. She called them; they were promised to her, and a search was made for them under the feet of the crowd. During this time a few friends succeeded in forming a group around the princess. They opened one of the glazed doors on a level with the garden belonging to the presidency of the Chamber, and carried her safely through this garden to the president's palace, there to await her fate and receive her children.

The Count of Paris, torn by the tumult from his mother, and pointed out to the people as the future king, had been brutally throttled by a man of colossal stature. The enormous bony hand of this fanatic nearly choked the poor child, as, in brutal sport, he made believe strangle him. A National Guard, who was looking for the boy, and witnessed this disgusting profanation, beat up the arm of this soulless man by a blow vigorously dealt, tore the young prince away from him, and carried him, trembling and soiled, in the direction of his mother, who burst into tears as she embraced him.

But the mother missed her other child, the little Duke of Chartres. She called him with loud cries, and pressed against the glasses of the garden to see him brought from a distance. The child had fallen under the tumultuous mass of people on the way from the tribune to the corridors. He was trodden under the feet of the multitude, whose clamors did not even allow them to hear his stifled cries. He was lost for a moment.

The Duke of Nemours, also separated from the princess by the crowd, had succeeded in getting through it without insult. He had taken refuge in an office belonging to the Chamber. He was furnished with clothes to enable him to disguise himself and get away without being recognized.

XXVII.

Other men had just entered the passages. They were talking, and waving in their hands helmets, fur caps, and sabres, still reeking with the blood of the Municipal Guards killed in the place de la Concorde. Some were armed with muskets. One of them, a working-man in a vest, with sleeves blackened by toil, with a wild countenance, and the rough and convulsive movements of a maniac, perched himself on the outside of the same tribune from which the threats against the princess had been uttered. He took aim at the president. A thousand voices were raised to give M. Sauzet warning. M. Sauzet did not turn pale, but at last left his chair, to avoid giving an excuse for crime, precipitately descended the steps, and left the hall.

At the same instant, the young laborer, not seeing the president in his chair, but seeing Lamartine alone in a black dress in the centre of the tribune, in the midst of arms and standards, thought he was another president, or an orator opposed to the people. He slowly took aim at him, like a hunter who fires at his leisure. Captain Dunoyer, who was on M. de Lamartine's left, tried to cover him with his body, and called out to him, — "Shelter yourself; you are fired upon." — "I see the musket levelled at my breast," replied Lamartine, smiling, "but his aim is bad; he will not hit me. Besides, what if I am killed? If I die in the tribune at this moment, I die at my post."

On all sides arms were lifted towards the gallery of the second story, whence musket-barrels were levelled. "Don't fire, — it is Lamartine," cried the people below to those above. The armed man heard nothing. Du Villard, a sergeant of the National Guard, rushed upon him and threw up his piece. Other brave combatants disarmed him. They dragged him, in spite of his cries of rage, out of the hall where he would have stained the tribune with blood and dishonored the revolution.

XXVIII.

Almost all the deputies of the centres had retired after the departure of the president, the flight of the duchess, and the scene of the fire-arms. A certain number of intrepid men, — among whom was remarked M. de Lascases, whose feeble body held a gallant heart, — members of the opposition, remained in their seats, mixed with the people and the National Guardsmen, who had intruded on them. The tribune itself was besieged and abandoned in turn, by orators who did not belong to the



Chamber. They came to make gestures significant of battle, victory, and command, and to shout forth a few motions proposed amid an uproar of voices.

Lamartine remained firm in the tribune, not yielding to anarchical motions, only standing aside and waiting till the disorder should be exhausted by its own excess. On all sides the deputies and people made him significant signs, to retain him in the breach, and to conjure him not to leave it without having proclaimed a government. "Take the chair! take the chair! let Lamartine preside over us!" cried a thousand voices. He declined; he knew that the chair was too far from the people, and that they required at that moment a counsellor who could be heard in close proximity, and not a silent president. "Go," said he to some active, intelligent, and intrepid young men, who pressed about him to communicate his suggestions to the crowd, "go and seek that old man upon his bench; it is *Dupont de L'Eure*. His is the most impressive name in liberal and republican France; he is the director of public esteem; there is no power at this moment but respect. This brave old man will possess in the eyes of the people the inviolability of veneration. His name will give the stamp of moral authority and virtue to the measures we are about to attempt for the reëstablishment of order. If his modesty refuse, do violence to his white hairs, and carry him, in spite of himself, to the chair. He is the man we need,—Providence has saved him for this day."

The young men obeyed; they carried Dupont de L'Eure to the chair. At sight of him, all heads were uncovered. Hands applauded; countenances brightened up: the revolution had a moderator; the people a conscience in its insurrection; the tribune a voice worthy of pronouncing its will.

## XXIX.

Lamartine rose on tiptoe, and said in a low tone to Dupont de L'Eure, "Hasten to proclaim the names of the members of the provisional government, which the acclamation of the deputies and the people will designate. Embrace the occasion, ere we lose it." Dupont de L'Eure bowed to Lamartine, in token of assent.

Confused voices demanded with loud cries the nomination of the provisional government. Lamartine received many lists of names hastily drawn up by young men, who wrote them on

their knees. Lamartine threw a rapid glance over them, tearing up some and pruning others. Those nearest the tribune cried out, "Name them—name them!" "Proclaim them yourself!" cried the most vehement. Lamartine resisted; he did not wish to discredit prematurely the popular choice, by impressing on the designated name the arbitrary authority of one man's selection. He limited himself by whispering to the electors the names which most naturally occurred to his mind, and which seemed to him most fitted for the work of casting the people in a new common mould of power and order.

After protracted efforts on the part of MM. Crémieux, Carnot, and Dumoulin, to procure silence, Dupont de L'Eure proclaimed the names of the members of the provisional government. They were MM. Dupont de L'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and Crémieux. The proclamation of each of these names was ratified by a salvo of applause. All shades of popular opinion here found a representation. It was the imperative truce suddenly personified in diversities of nature, origin and opinion; provisional unity of action in the past and future variety of tendencies; a government of fact, in anticipation and preparation of a government of right; the explosion of a revolution before time had separated and chilled its contrary elements.

The instinct of the people felt its acclamations presaged wisdom and strength under this apparent confusion of persons. Dupont de L'Eure expressed public virtue; Lamartine, the fraternity of classes in democracy; Arago, the glory of intellect; Garnier Pagès, hereditary esteem, and the gratitude of a nation for a tomb; Marie, austerity in moderation; Ledru Rollin, the fire, abandonment, and perhaps excess, of the republic; Crémieux, words of general value, and liberty of conscience personified in the government.

### XXX.

Hardly had these names been proclaimed when objections began to be raised among the crowd. This one was criticized; that one was feared; they wanted to increase or retrench the names on the list. Three or four voices pronounced that of M. Louis Blanc. Some hands wrote it; Lamartine passed it over in silence; he knew the powerful popularity of this young writer, and appreciated his talents, but he distrusted the spirit of system in a government of pacification and concord. Abso-

lute ideas, when true, render governments impracticable, and when false, overthrow them. Lamartine would not have the republic fail in an Utopia; he felt that if the discussion were prolonged, the exactions of the multitude would increase at each new name uttered in the crowd, and that the provisional government would be decomposed before its formation.

He hastily descended from the tribune, and plunged into the mass of combatants, National Guards and people, who obstructed the hall. They wished to lead him to the palace of the President of the Chamber, there to instal the new government. "No, no," said he; "to the Hôtel de Ville!"

"To the Hôtel de Ville!" repeated the crowd. The billowy mass of people, that inundated the halls and corridors, was with difficulty borne back. The gateway opening on the quay was reached.

Lamartine had instinctively felt that if the provisional government was installed in the Chamber of Deputies, or the Ministry of the Interior, this government might be attacked and annulled before night. The civil war extinguished by the proclamation of this government would be rekindled in the evening, between two opposing governments. The Hôtel de Ville—the quarter of the revolution—the people's palace—the Mount Aventine of seditions, was occupied by innumerable columns of the people, of the surrounding sections and the armed faubourgs. These masses, directed by the most enterprising and intrepid men, would not fail, when they learned the defeat of kings, the flight of the regency, and the triumph of the revolution, to appoint a government by themselves. The anarchy and bloody tyranny of the communes of Paris, during the first republic, must naturally present themselves to the mind of Lamartine. He saw them at once in all their horror, increased yet more by the elements of social war which the hollow doctrines of socialism, communism, and expropriation, fermented, and would cause to explode in these masses of working men, in want of bread, but not of steel. To allow one hour for the proclamation of a municipal and socialist government at the Hôtel de Ville, would be to suffer the organization of servile war in the midst of political warfare. It would be to open the veins of France to seas of blood. Garnier Pagès, a man who has all the enlightenment of the heart, had felt like Lamartine, without having communicated with him. He had hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, to assume by right of his prevision the post of Mayor of Paris.

His name was a magistracy in these sections. He recalled to the people a twofold popularity united in one man.

Garnier Pagès was the brother of a young republican deputy, the first of this name, cut down in the flower of his manhood by a recent death. This orator, whose reputation was increased by every speech he delivered, was in the tribune what Carrel was in the press, a movement towards the future. His brother had inherited his popularity and his principles, rendered more moderate in him by a more cordial and graceful character. His deep studies on questions of economy and finance, his speech, which sprang from his heart to his lips, his laborious probity, which had long and honorably struggled with fortune before winning it, his sympathizing voice, his countenance radiant with serenity in the midst of ardor, and his gesture, which disclosed his soul to the eye, rendered Garnier Pagès powerful through the greatest power that affects the masses, goodness. His visible goodness detracted nothing from the strength of Garnier Pagès. Intrepidity was an additional simplicity of his nature, He had no need of efforts at self-devotion; his was the intrepidity of a child.

Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Crémieux, and Lamartine, succeeded in meeting at the gate of the palace. While they were waiting, in the midst of the acclamations of the populace outside, for their colleagues, who were wandering in the halls, the deserted tribune, left behind them, served already as a division to the combatants who had remained within. "No more civil lists!" said a pauper. "No more royalty!" said an old man, proud of the remembrance of having lived without a king in his youth, during the fantastic days of liberty. "Let us tear down the canvass where royalty yet reigns in effigy!" cried the men of the new creed.

They had already sprung upon the platform where the president's chair stood, to cut up the picture of the coronation of 1830, when a laborer, armed with a double-barreled gun, called out, "Wait! I will do justice on kings." At the same moment he fired two shots into the canvass. These regicide balls in effigy pierced the *cordons rouges* which decorated the king's breast. The destruction and mutilation commenced. A young man, named Theodore Six, himself a workman, ascended the tribune. "Respect to monuments! Inviolability to national property! Decency and order in victory!" he exclaimed.

The multitude applauded. The people of Paris, lavish of



their blood, are sparing of devastation, and superstitious in respect to art. Works of intellect inspire them with respect, as they did the Athenians. They seem to know that intellect is royalty in the eye of history and time. The hall was evacuated.

Captain Dunoyer and Colonel Dumoulin, who had remained till then in the tribune with their standards to protect the palace of the national representatives, went to resume, at the side of Lamartine and his colleagues, the head of the column, which set out for the Hôtel de Ville.

## BOOK V.

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### I.

THE people, with respect for gray hairs, had gone in search of a hackney cabriolet drawn by one horse, and had made Dupont de l'Eure and Arago get into it. Garnier Pagès was at the Hôtel de Ville; MM. Marie and Ledru Rollin were kept back and stifled by the crowd of men undulating in the interior of the palace; Lamartine walked alone on foot at the head of the army of the people, surrounded by a few members of the assembly, who confided in the fortune of the day; eight or ten National Guards rallied by their commander, and a counter-current of men, women and children, clapping their hands, and uttering momentarily cries of victory and peace.

M. Crémieux soon came and joined him. His column was weak in numbers and arms. It was composed in all of about six hundred men, of whom two or three hundred were armed. A company or a squadron, directed against this confused and disorderly band, could easily have dispersed it, and carried away this government of acclamation.

Lamartine and his colleagues did not disguise it from themselves. They had devoted themselves, without looking behind them on all the chances of their devotion. They had no right but their own consciences. An arbitrary and partial ballot, confined to a small number of insurgents at the foot of an invaded tribune, was nothing but an usurpation, powerful in design, vain of authority, under a semblance of election. Their title might be contested in the name of royalty, or it might be in the name of the people. Behind them the Tuileries, before them the Hôtel de Ville, — all was illegal. Their invasion of the supreme power was apparently a double crime. They had nothing to reply to those who might have demanded their commission. They could only point to the city in arms, the throne empty, the Chambers expelled, the buildings on fire, the people fighting against the people, the blood upon the pavements, and to say: "We assume the government to suspend

these disasters, to extinguish these flames, to stanch this blood, and to save this people. We assume it by the right of a passer-by who generously, though uncommissioned, throws himself between two men who are cutting each other's throats. This passer-by has no written authority in his hands, but he has a duty inscribed imperishably in his heart; it is that of saving his brethren. His right is ours. Condemn us if you will; we will not resist the letter of your decree. We submit knowingly to be the victims of logic, for the sake of being the peace-makers of this people."

## II.

Except what had just passed in the Tuileries and the Chamber, everything was unknown. The Duchess of Orleans might be at the Champs-Élysées, or on the esplanade of the Invalides, surrounded by the princes, her brothers-in-law, at the head of one of the divisions of the army. The Tuileries and the Champs-Élysées were still covered with regiments. The forts around Paris would pour out munitions, soldiers and artillery. Vincennes was doubtless impregnable. The king was waiting (probably) at Saint-Cloud or at Versailles, till reinforcements summoned from the departments should swell the army of Paris, which remained entire. On the other side of the Seine, battalions and squadrons were seen defiling, who looked with pity on the popular band marching in a contrary direction on the other bank.

The pavements were slippery with mire and blood. Here and there carcasses of men and horses strewed the quay, and compelled the head of the column to turn aside.

They reach as far as the barracks on the quay d'Orçay. The dragoons who occupied it had closed the barred gateway. The anger of the people might rekindle at the sight of the soldiers, who had been charging them for three days. A single shot might be the signal for a massacre like that of the Municipal Guards.

Lamartine quickened his pace, and approached the gate of the barracks. He halted, exhausted by the thoughts, words and actions, of the morning. He was thirsty. He feigned even greater exhaustion than he felt, and addressing the dragoons crowded before the grating, "Soldiers," said he, "a glass of wine."

This request, instantly repeated by the group around him,

was held by the dragoons, who brought a glass and bottle and poured out some wine. Lamartine, raising the glass in his hand before drinking, smiled, and in allusion to the banquets which preceded and caused the revolution, cried: "My friends! this is the banquet! May the people and the soldiers fraternize with me!" and he drank.

At these words and the action, the dragoons and the people shouted in unison, "Long live Lamartine! Long live the Provisional Government!" Hands pressed hands. Peace was sealed.

### III.

The column resumed its march, and crossed the Seine by the Pont-Neuf. At the Pont-Royal, the citizens took M. Crémieux, and forced him to get into a cabriolet, which followed that of M. Dupont de l'Eure. Lamartine continued to march alone at the head of the column. There a young woman, dressed as a soldier, and adorned with the uniform of a Municipal Guardsman who had been slain and stripped at the palace of the Tuileries, sprang from the midst of a dense mass of combatants, sabre in hand, towards Lamartine, crying *Vive la République!* She wished to embrace the orator. Lamartine repulsed her. "Women do not fight," said he to the amazon. "They are of the party of all the wounded. Go and raise them up, and carry them, without distinction, to the ambulances." The young woman embraced one of the National Guards, and reëntered the throng amid the bravos of the people.

In the midst of the quai de la Mégisserie, barricades, raised at intervals, stopped the carriages. Dupont de l'Eure, compelled to alight, advanced, supported by two combatants. His name and age, respect and admiration, powerfully served to impress decorum on the multitude. The veneration they entertained for this aged man was reflected on the government, and contributed much to procure its recognition. At each step they were obliged to lift Dupont de l'Eure over the bodies of men and horses, the fragments of weapons, and pools of blood, which crowded the approaches of the place de l'Hôtel de Ville. Litters carrying the dead and wounded, borne on the shoulders of their brothers-in-arms, slowly worked their way to the hospitals.



## IV.

At the turn of the quay, on the place de Grève, the members of the government found themselves plunged in a sea of men; the entire square, as well as the broad quay which borders it, being covered with so densely packed a crowd, that it seemed impossible to make the passage. Cries of "Make way for the government!" were lost in the vast murmur which rose from such a multitude. Musket-shots were fired here and there amidst the incessant clang of the tocsin rung in the cathedral towers and surrounding belfries. Prolonged clamors succeeded the sharp reports of fire-arms, and then roarings and deep and unintelligible murmurs issued from the entrances of the Hôtel de Ville, mixed with the ringing of broken glass upon the pavement, and the shock of the butts of the muskets held by the combatants.

The first crowds which the government attempted to get through looked with wild and lowering eyes upon the unknown deputies, coming in the name of a vanquished Chamber to throw themselves unarmed into the midst of the people, and assume the direction of a victory won over themselves. They elbowed them rudely, turned their backs disdainfully, and refused to open a passage for them.

Still the names of Dupont de l'Eure and Arago, repeated from mouth to mouth, commanded a respectful attitude from those most rebellious to all respect. These names, with those of their colleagues, promptly circulated from group to group, over the whole surface of this sea, and by degrees caused the faces of the entire multitude to turn in the direction of the spot where the government was seeking to effect an entrance. But the panting curiosity of these people, still warm with battle, and looking for an issue from heaven or from man, impelled them so towards the deputies who brought them victory and peace, that Dupont de l'Eure and his colleagues were nearly stifled and overthrown by the reflux of the mass. It was necessary for the column that followed the government to form a rampart for them of its most robust and intrepid men. This head of the column, like pioneers who remove obstacles, slowly opened a passage-way, which constantly closed up through this living rampart.

Lamartine, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago and Crémieux, sometimes united and sometimes separated by the involuntary, convulsive, and irresistible movements of this throng, advanced in this way obliquely towards the palace, under an arch of pikes,

rusty guns, sabres, bayonets mounted on long poles, cutlasses, and poniards, brandished above by naked arms, powder-marked, bloody, and tremulous with the fever of three days' fighting. Their dresses were hideous, their faces pale and excited to madness, their lips quivering with cold and excitement, their eyes fixed as in insanity. It was the madness of liberty!

The mouths, opened to utter, produced only deep rattlings. It was evident that in sixty hours these people had exhausted their strength, blood, breath, and voices. It was the feverish debility of a nation standing on its bloody couch to witness the passage of those who brought them the cup of refreshment and a truce to death.

## V.

After traversing this multitude by long circuits, the members of the government reached at length the great door of the Hôtel de Ville, surmounted with a bronze statue of Henry IV. But the mass of combatants was so crowded and so terrifying under the arch of those stairways; such a forest of steel bristled, both on the steps and within the inner court, that the members of the government could not make their way, in spite of the long struggle which ensued between the two opposing currents of those who were entering and of those who resisted their pressure.

An irresistible undulation drove them back, with their suite of National Guards and citizens, towards a door nearer the river, and engulfed them in a lower court encumbered with horses abandoned by their dead riders, with wounded, and with corpses whose feet were bathed in blood. The crowd who already filled the court, as well as that which followed them; the stamping and neighing of the horses, breaking their bridles, and galloping with fright; the musket-shots from the square and the upper galleries, the accumulating and swarming of thousands of men on the staircase, kept the deputies for a long time separated from each other, and buried, as it were, in this furnace of the revolution. At length, after superhuman efforts on the part of the crowds, who overwhelmed them, upset them, trampled them under foot, lifted them up, bore them forward and dashed them back like shipwrecked mariners on a chain of breakers, they arrived within the long corridors of the first story, which form the outlets of this immense palace.

## VI.

The torrent of armed men which filled the interior was only the more impetuous the more it was compressed. Finding it impossible to meet and communicate with each other, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Ledru Rollin, and their colleagues, in vain entered successively the secret halls and chambers; all were equally obstructed with people, with wounded expiring on the straw, with orators mounted on window-sills, furiously gesticulating, pointing to the blood on their shoes, and hurling incentives to combat and extermination.

All assembling of the deputies with their colleagues, all silence, all privacy, all collective deliberation, and, consequently, all action, were impossible. Despair took possession of them; they did not betray it on their countenances; they trembled lest the night should arrive before they had become recognized and accepted by the people; such a night, with three hundred thousand armed men, intoxicated with powder, amidst the ruins of all government, in a capital of fifteen hundred thousand men; the conflict, the murder, the conflagration, which might last and extend throughout hours of blood and fire, made them shudder. They floated at the mercy of their lassitude, their impotence, and their anguish; their voice was worn out in demanding silence, a place of refuge against the tumult, a table, a pen, a sheet of paper, in order to throw to the people from the windows one word of safety, one sign of authority.

No human speech could prevail, from the height of the balcony, over the roaring of a hundred thousand voices, the clashing of arms, the groans of the dying, the discharges of musketry, prolonged in echoes, beneath the arches, on the stairways, and along the corridors.

## VII.

Lamartine felt himself seized by the arm with a vigorous hand. He turned around; a man in a black dress-coat, and of an intelligent, finely marked countenance, said to him, in a low voice, "I am going to open for you an unoccupied retreat at the extremity of the apartments of the prefect of Paris; station a strong guard of your armed men at the entrance of the narrow corridor which leads to it. I will then seek your colleagues, one by one, in the crowd; I will conduct them to you, and you will be able to deliberate and act."

This man was M. Flottard, an *employé* of the prefecture of Paris; he was familiar with all the turns of the palace. He threw himself into the crowd as if it were his element; his tall stature, his strong shoulders, his head proud, calm, jovial, rising above the other heads, enabled him to subdue and penetrate this multitude, to thrust aside the bayonets with his hand, as if he were sporting with blades of corn in a field. The people seemed to recognize him, and to permit the bold and somewhat rough familiarity of his gestures and his commands. There was something of Danton in that countenance, but of Danton before the crime of September.

M. Flottard and a few members of the government reached, at the extremity of a corridor, a small door, which they broke open. They entered a narrow cabinet, furnished with a table and a few chairs. They employed a dense column of armed volunteers in the corridor, to dispute its entrance. They waited till their other colleagues, summoned by M. Flottard, should be delivered and brought to this rendezvous.

The council took their seats around the little table, amidst the crash of musketry at the windows, the mutterings in the square, and the noise of glass broken by musket-butts, and doors crushed by the pressure of the masses.

### VIII.

Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Marie, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, and Lamartine, leaned on the bare wood of the narrow council-table. Every minute, fresh men, summoned by danger and patriotism, hastened to the Hôtel de Ville, pierced the crowd, gave their names, were introduced into the reserved enclosure, and standing behind the members of government, or leaning against the wall, offered their aid, while waiting for the employment of their courageous devotion.

These were deputies, mayors of Paris, colonels of the National Guard, citizens noted in their respective quarters, and journalists of all liberal opinions. Among them were noticed M. Flocon, the editor of the republican journal *La Réforme*, a man of action, fatigued with struggling, but seeking by strife only to win another form of order. M. Louis Blanc, lost in the masses, by reason of his diminutive stature, but soon distinguished by the sombre fire of his expression, the energy of his gestures, the metallic ringing of his voice, and the emphatic will shown in his movements; M. Marrast, with his face composed



and gently sarcastic, even in the heat of action; M. Bastide, the editor of the *National*, with his military head, preserving the resolution of cool courage, the silence and immobility of a soldier on guard; a crowd of other faces, all impressed, according to their character, with the energy or gravity of the moment; a thoughtful auditory, bending over the focus of a great decision.

### IX.

The expressions of all were as solemn as the event. Each one looked into his conscience, and deliberately weighed upon his lips the words he was about to utter.

They began by organizing themselves into a government council, by distributing duties, and appointing ministers. On this point there was neither deliberation nor voting; everything was done at the first movement, by concert and acclamation. Each one accepted, without preference or refusal, the part best indicated by his aptitude, with the consent of his colleagues.

Dupont de l'Eure was president of the council and of the provisional government. His eighty years and his virtue procured his nomination. Distrusting, not his courage, but his physical and vocal force, amidst the tempests of the public square, Dupont de l'Eure wrote at the end of the table a delegation of the presidency in favor of Lamartine. He loved Lamartine, who repaid his affection by respect. Dupont de l'Eure authorized his colleague to fill his place in case of absence or infirmity.

Lamartine received the ministry of foreign affairs. That of the interior was given to Ledru Rollin. Bethmont, a young deputy of the constitutional opposition, was appointed minister of commerce and agriculture. Pure in heart, calm in mind, and gentle in speech, Bethmont was the charm of the revolution. No one could fear a government of which the eloquence of Bethmont would be the organ, and his countenance the expression.

The ministry of justice fell to M. Crémieux, an orator and man of business, active, indefatigable with voice and pen, a universal advocate, the softened counsellor of the Duchess of Orleans in the morning, of the republic in the evening, always present, and everywhere popular.

M. Marie was named minister of public works. It was a vast task, that of directing the labor of the people, and at this

moment the regulator of order. But M. Marie, a man of lofty counsel and elevated policy, was, from his intellectual nature, too much above this ministry of detail and contrivance to bend himself to it. This ministry was for him only the sanction of his entrance into the council, to which he gave solidity.

M. Arago took the ministry of the navy, by right of his science, of his authority, his authority over learned arms, and his fame, great as the sphere where his name would float.

A minister of war was sought; a difficult personage to find, on the evening of a day when all the generals had fought against the people. Lamartine proposed General Subervie, a man of republican memories, and burning with ardor beneath his gray hairs. He was sought for; he hastened to present and to devote himself. This selection, blamed at first by ignorance, on account of the brave soldier's years, was fortunate. A green old age is youth renewed. It loses not an atom of time, because it knows its value, nor an occasion of glory, because glory escapes with life. If Subervie, removed at a later date, from prejudice, had remained minister of war, the government would have been served in a more military manner.

M. Goudchaux, a banker, highly esteemed for his probity and intelligence, had the ministry of finance. His name preserved the credit which the revolution had put to flight.

Lastly, Carnot was called to the ministry of public instruction and worship; Carnot, son of the famous conventionalist of that name, inherited from his father the public virtues, the love of man, the worship of truth, the constancy and moderation, which he unquestionably possessed. His countenance, sweet from its serenity, manly in expression, benevolent in its look, attractive by its smile, called to mind a philosopher of the school of Athens. His revolutionary name was a pledge to the republicans; his religious philosophy, a pledge of toleration and liberty to the worship which the republic wished to protect and enfranchise, through respect for God.

After the ministers, the provisional government appointed secretaries to register its acts, but especially to make room in the new power for all the active forces of popularity which might be able to organize themselves in hostility to any power or influence from which they were excluded. M. Marrast was too celebrated in the republican press; M. Flocon too active in journalism and action; M. Pagnerre too important in the constitutional propaganda of Paris; M. Louis Blanc too bold in

his ideas, and too dear to the socialist sects, to be with impunity left out of a government founded on popular unanimity. They were nominated secretaries of the provisional government. They had at first consulting, afterwards deliberating, voices in that body.

Their names, placed at first below the decrees, with the title of secretaries, insensibly approached the names of the members of the provisional government themselves; they were elevated, by encroachment upon the page, to a rank which did not belong to them at first. No one contested this usurpation — assented to by all. Upon what legal title would the government have been able to support itself in discarding these new comers? It had for its only title its own usurpation over anarchy, and its courage in interposing between civil war and the people. These others had done as much — they obtained their position through audacity and danger.

M. Pagnerre alone remained indefatigably in his office, where his modesty alone retained him, as first secretary of the council.

M. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, a celebrated scholar, a practised orator and intrepid spirit, was joined with him. These two men, stationed in the second rank of the government, often supported its weight, without receiving enough of its glory. MM. Buchez and Recurt, old republicans, organized the mayoralty of Paris, under Garnier Pagès; men equal to meet every emergency and danger. Concealed at the establishment of the republic, at the Hôtel de Ville, they sustained, in obscurity, the assault of the exigences, the demands, and the miseries of the people of Paris, from the first hour to the last.

M. de Courtais, member of the Chamber of Deputies, a gentleman of Bourbonnai, an old officer of the royal army, was nominated commandant-general of the National Guard of Paris. The favor which he enjoyed in the opposition, his martial figure, his soldier-like and popular bearing, reminded Lamartine of those generals of the people who control them by treating them with roughness. Courtais appeared to be one of those, created for the occasion, between Santerre and Maudat; rude in bearing, like the former — popular, like the latter. Lamartine presented him with this title. They had not time to discuss names, or to study proprieties. Courtais was nominated; he did not shrink from the danger: his position might give him immense influence in the revolution; it gave him the military control of Paris during an interregnum of four months; it made him, in fine, the republican protector of a National Assembly.

He understood only the spirit of bravery and popularity, not that of an inflexible dictatorship opposed to political masses ; he fell between the people of Paris and the National Assembly.

## X.

Thus began to be reorganized some of the elements of power. As soon as a minister, a general, or any agent of authority, was nominated, he received his summary instructions ; he departed, animated with the spirit of the council, the fire of the emergency. He grouped around him the first men of the revolution who came to hand ; he enlisted in his suite a handful of combatants, swarming in the Hôtel de Ville, or upon the square ; he hastened to his post ; he swept by degrees from his office the armed bands and adventurers who had seized upon it ; he installed some secretaries, and recalled the scattered workmen ; he reestablished a certain appearance and a certain authority around him ; he gave orders ; informed the government, by constant couriers, of the state of affairs in the city and the precincts ; he received from it instructions and impulses. The government, sitting constantly, agreed upon their replies, that one order should not contradict another. The threads of this vast woof of a government of thirty-six millions of men were thus rapidly woven together. The mayors of Paris hurried to and fro, penetrated the crowd, gave instructions in a few words as to the dangers, the forces, the provisions, of their quarter. They changed those officers whose names were too much exposed to resentment, through the favor of the fallen government. They appointed others, designated by the outcries of the people. They were mistaken ; they found better ones. They gave powers for the emergency to hundreds of commissioners and sub-commissioners. They had no other credentials than a strip of paper, signed in pencil with a name known to the people. To this one was consigned the Tuileries, menaced with devastation and flame ; to that one Versailles, surrounded by bands who wished to raze to the ground that stronghold of royalty ; to one Neuilly, already half consumed by fire ; to another the railroads, broken up and their bridges in flames. Here it was necessary to reestablish the communications of the roads, that this capital, of five hundred thousand mouths, should not be deprived of bread on the morrow ; there, the barricades must be partially pulled down, in order that the provisions might pass, without levelling the obstacles to the possible return of the



royal troops to Paris. It was necessary to feed the hungry for three days, to collect the wounded, to recognize and bury the dead, to protect the soldiers against the people, to evacuate the barracks, to save the arms and horses, to preserve the public monuments, hospitals, palaces, museums, offices, and temples, from insult and pillage. To quiet this people of three hundred thousand men; to pacify them and make them go back to their workshops and faubourgs; to establish posts everywhere, with the volunteers of victory, in order to preserve the lives and property of the vanquished—all this was the object of as many measures as there were thoughts rising in the minds of the government, and of as many commissions granted as there were hands presented to receive them.

The pupils of the Polytechnic School, that soldiery of days of crisis, to which its youth gives ascendancy over the people and its discipline authority with the masses,—those of the school of St. Cyr, officers without troops, whose uniform is followed by instinct,—those of the Normal School, whose gravity overawes the multitude,—all ran at the sound of the firing, and pressing round the government in attitudes at once disciplined, martial, and modest, waited their orders, and carried them, amidst lances, bullets, and flames, over the theatre of devastation. They made a campaign with a handful of volunteers, workmen and people, collected at random under their command, to reestablish order and to save society. They bivouacked at the gates of the palace, upon the squares, at the branchings of the streets, and at the railroad depots. They caused the rails to be relaid, and the fires to be extinguished; they stationed the famished poor to guard the precious furniture and the treasures of the rich. One would have said that an immense hive of men were humming round the Hôtel de Ville, and suspending the combat to fly to the assistance of the common civilization. There was only needed a regulated impulse to be given to this instinctive movement of the people, which urged it to reestablish order by its virtues. The members of the government and the ministers began to command this movement; this people only required a centre—they found it and strengthened it in these devoted citizens.

## XI.

The government must first speak to the people and the departments, in order to instruct the nation as to the state of

affairs, and to inform it, at the same time, what kind of men they were who had thrown themselves at the head of the movement, to regulate and restrain it, and to change victory into tranquillity, revolution into order. Lamartine took his pen, and wrote the following proclamation to the French people :

**"IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE.**

"The government has just fled, leaving behind it a trace of blood, which forbids it ever to retrace its steps. The members of the provisional government have not hesitated a moment to accept the patriotic mission which was imposed upon them by the emergency. When the capital of France is in conflagration, the authority of the provisional government is derived from the public safety. All France will comprehend it, and will lend to it its aid. Under the government of the people every citizen is a magistrate.

"Frenchmen, give to the world the example which Paris has just given to France; prepare yourselves, by order, for the firm institutions you are about to give yourselves.

"The provisional government wishes a republic, sanctioned by the ratification of the people, who will be immediately consulted.

"It wishes the unity of the nation, formed henceforth of all the classes of citizens who compose the nation. It wishes the self-government of the nation, liberty, equality, fraternity, for its principles; the people for its watchword. Behold the democratic administration, which France owes to herself, and which our efforts will secure to her."

Copies of this proclamation were thrown to the people, in great numbers, from the balconies over the square. It was followed, a few minutes after, by a proclamation to the army. It was necessary at once to determine its fate, repair its honor, and prepare its reconciliation with the people. Lamartine wrote :

**"GENERALS, OFFICERS, SOLDIERS :**

"Power, by its attacks upon liberty, the people of Paris, by their victory, have brought about the fall of the government for whose support you have been sworn. A fatal collision has imbrued the capital with blood. The blood of civil war is that which is most repugnant to France. A provisional government has been created. It has sprung from the imperious necessity of preserving the capital, reëstablishing order, and preparing

for France popular institutions, analogous to those under which the French republic so greatly aggrandized France and her armies.

"It is necessary to restore the union of the people and the army, for a moment disturbed.

"Swear fidelity to the people, among whom are your fathers, and your brothers. Swear love to these new institutions, and everything will be forgotten, excepting your courage and your discipline.

"Liberty will never demand of you other services than those which you may congratulate yourselves upon before the country, which will render you glorious before her enemies."

These proclamations, thrown among the people from the windows, were distributed in large numbers by volunteers who desired peace. They hastened to have them printed, and posted up in all the quarters. The pupils of the military schools and the workmen carried them to the barracks, and despatched them to the bodies of troops who had departed from Paris.

Already the principal chiefs of the army, to whatever parties they had belonged in the morning, repaired, still covered with the dust of battle, to the Hôtel de Ville. They traversed painfully, but without insult, the ranks of those whom they had fought in the morning. They came to collect round the provisional government, as round the only rallying point against anarchy and dissolution. The members of the government, without exacting from them any other vows but their patriotism, received them like brothers. They pressed cordially the hands of these brave officers, and sent them to their different commands, with no other order than to rally their soldiers to their standard, to prevent any collision between the people and the troops of the line; and to reestablish the safety of the communications, by strong columns circulating without the barriers, and over the roads which lead to Paris. The garrison of Vincennes sent in its submission to the government. General Duvivier, a republican in heart before the republic, but, above all, endowed with a religious patriotism; General Bedeau, General Lamoricière, his arm in a sling, and burning with fever in consequence of his wound in the morning; General Piré, a soldier of the first republic, of the empire and the monarchy, sparkling with fire and military zeal, in spite of the years of an old man, and a crowd of other officers of every grade and age, of every opinion and uniform, ran, some from the cry that the

country was in danger, others from the enthusiasm which the word republic rekindled in their memory; the latter from the hope of a new era of glory, the former from the just appeal of France in conflagration; all from that first impulse of the soldier or the French citizen, which throws this people, of its own accord, to the post of devotion, service, and danger.

The officers and soldiers of the National Guard, republican deputies, monarchists, legitimists, whatever might be their regrets, their party, or their hope, flowed in, every minute, showing their countenance, devoting their hearts, offering their arms. One might have said, that the throne, which had disappeared, had taken away all barriers between minds; and that there was no longer, for all these men of resolution, but one opinion, public safety; but one duty, sacrifice; but one party, France. The cries, the undulations of the people, the crowd, the musket-shots, the light of flames, the confusion and tumult, appeared to nourish the enthusiasm. It was the confused conflict of the country. One could distinguish there, among the thousands, M. de Larochejaquelein, that Vendean by race, remaining inexorable to the seductions of 1830, proud of being confounded with the republicans, pressing the hands of the combatants, commending the workmen of the revolution, and speaking to them of harmony and honor for all, in liberty; he thus offered, by his manly and martial attitude, the symbol of the reconciliation of classes and the unity of the country.



## BOOK VI.

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### I.

THE faubourgs and liberties of Paris rushed, hour after hour, in denser torrents, on the centre of the city, in consequence of the rumor of the events of the evening. They submerged the squares, quays, crossways, streets and bridges, the immense avenues of the Bastille in the quarter of Saint Antoine. Two hundred thousand men, at least, choked up the streets and approaches of the Hôtel de Ville. The surging and agitation of this multitude, clad in all sorts of costumes, bristling with all kinds of arms, breaking like living waves upon a sea-wall, launching its files of men upon the steps of doorways, on the points of the bronze gateways, under the vestibules, and in the staircases of the palace, which regorged them, a moment afterwards, with cries, gestures, uproar, explosions of pain, horror, or joy; the corpses borne by the light of flambeaux from the barricades, by men who proudly pierced the multitude in making way for their burthens; the general shuddering of the crowd, as they uncovered their heads and raised their hands in token of respect and vengeance; the ringing voices of the orators of groups mounted on the plinths of pillars, the parapets of the river, and on the window-seats, seeking vainly to render audible a few words amidst the tumult which drowned everything, the undulation which swept away everything; the red or black banners floating in rags from the points of bayonets; above these thousands of heads with their faces turned towards the high windows of the palace, some men on horseback, bearing orders or messages, seeking to make their way by pressing the crowd; the melancholy tolling of the bells in the distant steeples where the tocsin had not ceased to beat, like the pulse still continuing its vibrations after a fever; the alternate redness and pallor of men's faces, the accent of their speech, the fire of their looks; the old men, women and children, at the casements, dormer-windows, and even on the roofs,

accompanying with gestures and cries of fright the scenes of delirium, fury, or pathos, which passed under their eyes ; night setting in with its terrors ; the ill-omened rumors which circulated through the masses ; stories distorted or exaggerated by fear ; Neuilly in flames, the Louvre sacked, the Tuileries and the Palais Royal already kindled by the torches of incendiaries ; the royal troops returning with cannon against the people ; Paris the theatre of new carnage on the morrow ; the barricades rising, as it were, spontaneously, crowned with lamps to light the aggressors from afar ; ignorance of the fate of the nation and society, which was in the hands of a few men perhaps disagreeing with each other ; other men, the first comers from the field of victory, intrenched beforehand on the floors of the Hôtel de Ville, and refusing, it was said, to recognize the authority of the deputies ; two or three governments disputing the power, and, perhaps, presently throwing themselves from the balconies of the Hôtel de Ville ;—everything stamped this solemn hour with a character of trouble, doubt, anxiety, horror and fear, which was, perhaps, never presented in such a degree by the history of mankind. This anxiety at once entered and issued from the Hôtel de Ville, and, through the mutterings of the crowd, the clashings of sabres, the cries of delirium, the exclamations of anger, and the groans of the wounded, weighed upon the members of the government themselves, who were plunged, beaten, and lost in this ocean.

## II.

They hardly had sufficient space to concert rapidly, as they leaned over the table which separated them, bringing their faces together beneath the circle of the heads, extended arms and bayonets, of the varied and tumultuous crowd standing round them. Frequently, in the impossibility of hearing each other, or violently separated by groups involuntarily thrown between them, questioned, harassed by urgent demands, summoned to reply instantly, to give an order or direction for the safety of a public which could not wait, each one boldly took upon himself alone the responsibility of life and death. He seized a pen, tore a sheet of paper, wrote upon his knee or hat the decree asked for, signed it, and gave it to the executer. Thousands of orders of this nature, signed by Lamartine, Marie, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Flocon, and Louis Blanc, circulated through the barricades during these first hours. It was the divided dicta-

torship each member of a council of war assumes upon the field of battle; a dictatorship which peril commands, devotion seizes, and conscience excuses.

Oftener, by dint of supplications, and desperate efforts of their lungs and arms, the members of the government succeeded in obtaining an instant's silence, and in regaining a disputed seat at the board, and a little space between the spectators and themselves. They deliberated in few words, and rather in look and gesture than in speech. Each one of them wrote succinctly, with a rapid hand, one of the decrees resolved upon, and passed it to his colleagues, who appended their signatures in exchange for other decrees which were handed him to sign in turn.

These decrees, demanded by the impatient cries of those who testified their urgency, heaped upon the table, were frequently taken up and carried to the press before they had received the signatures of all the members.

The secretary-general, Pagnerre, of admirable coolness, order, and activity, was hardly able to take note of them, and make up a rapid and confused report. Fire, bloodshed, famine, and danger, could not wait for the slow formalities of a calm administration. It was a government of tempest and lightning; a flame from the sudden and electric shock of necessity. To ask the conditions of regularity, maturity, and reflection, of the dictatorship of these first nights and days, is to ask regularity of chaos, order of confusion, a century of a second. It was necessary to act and save, or suffer all to crumble and perish. It was a government of conflagration in the midst of fire. The men were worthy of the moment. They flinched neither under the peril in perspective, nor under the future responsibility to which they devoted their lives and reputations in advance. They all consented to destroy themselves, without looking either before or behind them, for the safety of a nation. The thought of securing a retreat by acts of cowardly prudence or skilful temporization, did not enter the mind of a single individual. Bravely and understandingly, they offered themselves as victims to the injustice or ingratitude of nations, should the common safety become hereafter the crime of some of them. They presaged this inculcation. They knew from history the retrogradation of revolutions. They expected it fearlessly. The first condition of being useful to one's country, in such important moments, is a complete self-sacrifice. He



WRITING A DECREE OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT  
ON A HAT.



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who would save a drowning man must commit himself naked to the ocean. They had done so.

### III.

Still all these men had an intelligent perception of sacrifice and peril. With no other power over the convulsed nation but the popularity of an hour—a wind which changes the quicker the stronger it blows; without the possibility of an organized defence against the army of royalty which might reënter Paris at daybreak, or starve it in eight days by concentrating on the roads; without the possibility of judging of the effect produced by a sudden revolution in the astonished departments; without an understanding with Algeria, whence an army of a hundred thousand men might bring back the princes to avenge their father's fall; these dictators of a night might be either engulfed by the very volcano of the people into which they had cast themselves to extinguish the flame, or be the first to be stricken down at the head of the sedition they had dared to regulate. Victims of the impatience of the people, or the righteous vengeance of royalty, in coolly examining their situation, they had only to choose between two alternatives; but they had not the time to think of them. These ideas rose but once or twice to their lips, and only impressed the smile of resignation which knows and welcomes its fate.

In one of these moments of desperation, when the armed crowd irresistibly assailed the Hôtel de Ville, penetrating even into the last and already crowded asylum where they attempted to establish some authority; when the wave broke down the doors, and overthrew the seats of the council; when the turbulence became such that confusion and final impotence reduced the members of the government to silence and inaction; Lamartine said to Arago, "Have you calculated how many chances less there are now, of our heads remaining on our shoulders, than this morning?" "Yes," replied the academician, with a calm smile, "there are all the evil chances for a complete loss of life against us, but there is one chance of preserving the nation from its loss. This reconciles us to the others." And he shook his white locks before Lamartine with his hand, as if to say that life passes quickly, and is of little value.

Lamartine, remembering the session of the 9th Thermidor, which he had just described in the "Girondists," said also to

Dupont de l'Eure : "This is much like the 9th Thermidor, when the Convention made Barras move against the Commune, and strangle Terror in its last counsel. If Royalty and the Chamber of Deputies have a Barras, it is all over with us to-morrow, for we are in the position of the Commune of Paris. But we are the conspirators of order and pacification."

## IV.

The white hair of Arago made an impression on the people. The age and Roman head of Dupont de l'Eure commanded also, in their eyes, a deference mingled with tenderness. This old man, youthful in spirit, correct in his views, inflexible to emotion, intrepid of look amidst all the exhaustion of fatigue and years, was the attraction of all eyes. Those who entered the council-chamber had him pointed out to them by those who had seen him ; they got upon the chairs and sofas to look at him. But sometimes the undulating violence of the crowd was such that Dupont de l'Eure, bowed down by years, and small in stature, tottered upon his seat, and was near being suffocated. In these moments of tumult and danger to him, a woman of the people, who would not leave the back of his chair, uttered cries addressed to the people, reproaching them with their rudeness, pointed out the old man with tears in her eyes, covered him with her body as she clung to the table, and lavished on him all the attentions paid by a daughter or sister to a father or a brother in danger. This poor woman wore the decent but almost indigent dress of the tradeswomen who deal in the markets of the Parisian *faubourgs*. Stricken in years herself, her countenance, occupied in watching Dupont de l'Eure, expressed simplicity and goodness. She did not think of herself. The sight of pistols, muskets and sabres, her own garments torn to rags by the contact of the armed multitude, neither stayed nor intimidated her. Every one thought her a woman with whom Dupont de l'Eure was familiarly acquainted, sent there to sustain his weakness. She did not know him. Lost in the swarm of men and women through which the government passed, on their way to the Hôtel de Ville, the woman had been struck by the appearance of this old man, held by two men sustaining his arms, and going to meet the shock of the whole crowd. She had been moved with pity and devotion to him. She thought that his old age required feminine support, or that perhaps, the intercession of a woman of her

condition would save him from the dagger of a conspirator. She had attached herself to his steps, and entered the council-chamber with him, where she shielded him by her solicitude. Devotion is courageous, and the most disinterested of passions.

## V.

Up to this moment all the acts, proclamations, and orders of the provisional government, had been thrown off, so to speak, at random, and in the name of the revolution rather than that of a definite government. Sometimes they were headed, "in the name of the French people," sometimes "in the name of the nation." The first communications of the government with the people had been received under this simple formula, without exciting attention or complaints.

But deep rumors already pervaded the multitude. Cries of *Vive la république!* burst with significant unanimity from the combatants. The masses of the faubourgs marched with this cry upon the Hôtel de Ville. A few steps from the government, in the principal halls where the crowd held their tumultuous sessions, the republic had been already proclaimed. It was time for the council itself to take a positive part for or against a change in the form of government.

Its title of provisional government was a sufficient acknowledgment that it only recognized itself as an authority founded on an interregnum. But still it was requisite to know in the name of what monarchical or republican principle this interregnum should be governed. Necessity raised and pressed the question. The revolution had overthrown royalty in the person of Louis Philippe. The regency, in the person of the Duke of Nemours, had been passed over without a moment's halt. The Duke of Nemours did not have an opportunity to protest, so rapid had been the two falls. The regency of the Duchess of Orleans was illegal, through a want of foresight on the part of the king and his ministers. But just proposed to the Chamber by M. Dupin and M. Barrot, she had been set aside by the demand for a provisional government, without any of the ministers of royalty, without M. Thiers himself, the minister of the eventful hour, ascending the tribune to discuss and sustain the question. A sudden invasion had stifled it. The nation alone of right remained standing. In fact, only seven men remained upon their feet, speaking and acting in the name of the people, what it might have spoken and per-



formed itself. These men evidently had no right to change the form of government, if a government had existed. But there was no government in existence, except that of the rashest or most heroic. In this total absence of constituent laws, this vacuum of authority, this nullity of rights, these seven men, whose accidental presence here was their only title, were certainly bound to look around them, to estimate the position of things as a whole, and to deliberate. It was also allowable for them to admit, as elements of their deliberations, their own opinions and personal tendencies, and to declare to the country whether they were about to govern in the name of the monarchy which had crumbled at their feet, or that of the republic raised in their hearts.

## VI.

Such was the whole state of the fact, and all the authority of this solemn debate, in which the public, the fire which burned, and the blood which flowed, certainly figured in the deliberation as terrible interlocutors. He who would not have listened to them would have been a madman. He who would have hearkened only to them would have been a coward. It has been supposed and asserted, that fear entered their deliberations, and guided the hand of many of the signers of the republic. This is false in two points. False as to men, and false as to things. A dilemma proves it. The men who had cast themselves into this crater did so from one of two motives; —either because they were republicans, and wished to aid the issue of the republic, their personal idea, from this explosion; or because they were devoted citizens, offering themselves as a holocaust to the furnace of revolutionary incendiarism, to repress and restrict it, and prevent their country and the world from being consumed by it. If these men were republican fanatics, it was not fear which induced them to consent to the republic. If these men were devoted victims, who offered themselves up for the safety of all, they were not the cowardly natures that fear could intimidate.

Moreover, there was no fear of death imminent for those who should have refused to pronounce the word republic. They had only to retire in safety to their dwellings, and leave a place coveted by a thousand others in the circle of the government. The council-table, abandoned by one, many or all of the members of the provisional government, would have been

instantly seized by citizens who asked for nothing but to replace them, and thus compromise themselves before the people and posterity. The danger, on the contrary, lay in remaining with the government in the midst of a tumult which might, in an hour's time, become a massacre. The danger was not in fleeing. On this point, history appeals to a hundred thousand witnesses, of every shade of opinion, who were cognizant, during this terrible evening and night, of the events which passed in the interior of the Hôtel de Ville. If the members of the provisional government were guilty at that time, we must not seek to find an excuse for them in fear. They did not tremble, they reasoned; or, rather, events reasoned for them, in the pressure of their situation. They had but three measures to choose: either to proclaim no form of government, to proclaim a monarchy, or to proclaim a republic.

## VII.

To say to the people, we will proclaim no government, was evidently to say to all parties who had risen for or against such or such a government, continue to shed your blood and that of France, to recruit your forces, to whet your arms, and to assail constantly the provisional and unarmed order which we are establishing, in order to extort from it the triumph of your faction.

To proclaim nothing at all was, then, in fact, to proclaim anarchy, sedition, permanent civil war; better a thousand times would it have been had these men remained motionless and mute in the ranks of deputies than to come forth in the name of public safety to the ruin of all.

To proclaim the monarchy before three hundred thousand men who had risen to combat it, before the demoralized or conspiring National Guard, before the astonished and dissolved army, before the empty throne, before the absent king, before the regency in flight, before the Chambers expelled from the capitol, was evidently to proclaim division in the face of the people; or, rather, it was to desert the post of peril and of direction where they had rushed, and to trust at the instant the government of this tempest no longer to men of moderation, whose authority had been miraculously acknowledged, but to the words and to the thunders of the tempest itself. It was to deliver France to men of disorder, of anarchy, and of blood. It was to hurl the nation, by its own hands, to the depths of the abyss of extreme, sanguinary, desperate parties, instead of

restraining it at the risk of being crushed on the moderate descents of liberty, and under the empire of universal suffrage, the last appeal to society without law and without leader.

To proclaim the provisional republic subject to the ratification of the country, immediately convoked in its National Assembly, was then the only thing, at once revolutionary and preservative, to be done. For, on the one hand, the experiment of the republic, made with unanimity and moderation, during a certain space of time, was an immense progress gained in the order of rational governments and popular interests; on the other hand, if this second republic, conceived as a happy and striking contrast to the excesses and crimes of the first, should be subsequently repudiated by the assembled nation, it gave, for the moment at least, to the government charged with saving the interregnum, the enthusiasm of the people, the active concurrence of all the republicans, the satisfaction of turbulent opinions, the astonishment of Europe; in a word, the impulsive movement and force to reach a definitive government across the bottomless abyss of a revolution.

### VIII.

Instinct is the electric flash of reason: it inscribed these considerations in letters of light on the minds of the men of the government. Thus the deliberation was solemn but short, like a deliberation on a field of battle; an exchange of views, and a summary vote demanding of each member his conscientious opinion, sufficed. A reflection concentrating a whole life into a moment, and a few brief and serious words, formed the unanimous result. There were, indeed, some instants of scrupulous hesitation in the heart, — some stammerings on the lips, — some pale, pensive brows, — some inquiring glances of intelligence, measuring the breadth and depth of the republican element, at the moment of stepping from the century-worn shore of the monarchy, to launch forth upon the agitated and unknown sea of the republic. The oldest and firmest courage could not help a few gestures and attitudes of momentary irresolution, and of secret invocation to the Providence of nations; but, after having looked attentively within and around, no one recoiled upon certain anarchy rather than to advance boldly amidst the chances of common safety. Some from long-standing resolutions, others from gratification at the triumph of their system, — the latter from old convictions, the

former from courageous reasons, — many, doubtless, from mere conviction of necessity; all, in fine, from the prescience of the hour, and from the evidence of the actual impossibility of any other solution, proposed, voted, or consented to, the title of republic on the frontispiece of the revolutionary government: only from this hour it was declared and understood, that the vast majority refused inflexibly to usurp, in the name of a city or of a faction, over the entire nation, the right of changing its government; a right of which violence and tyranny alone can rob a people; to constrain thirty-six millions of men to adopt a government which is repugnant to them, in the name of an armed faction or even of the unanimity of the people, — that was no longer the law nor the republic, it was crime and servitude. A revolution of deliverance, resulting in such a monstrous absolutism, would have been, according to the majority, the insult, the scandal, or the derision of liberty; every member of the provisional government would have cut his hand off rather than endorse it. They agreed to adopt in the formula, in the acts, and in the interpretation, the view presented in the proclamation drafted in these terms by Lamartine. The provisional government proclaims the republic subject to the ratification of the nation by a national assembly, to be immediately convoked; thus civil war could be extinguished, the revolution could be accomplished, the people could be directed by its own curb, and still the nation remained absolute sovereign mistress of its definitive government.

Excepting bigoted monarchists or republican partisans, who place the right of their individual conviction or the triumph of their faction above all right and the whole people, all declared themselves satisfied with a solution that was at once so bold and so legitimate; it was the best solution for the republic itself. For liberty is not stolen; it is taken possession of in open light, in sight of the whole nation. Institutions surprised by a stroke of policy on the part of a minority resemble the fruits of a larceny; they are ill-enjoyed, and last but a little while. Serious men, partisans of the democratic rule, in the council of the provisional government, did not wish that the republic should be a trick of force or the stratagem of a faction. A republic imposed could be only a violent and persecuting republic; they wished it free, sincere, and constitutional, or they did not wish it at all. They proposed it to the nation under their own responsibility, and in the name of the initiative that their momentary dictatorship gave them. They made



it the temporary form of the government which they were going to control. They said in advance to the nation:—You can disavow us. We are only plenipotentiaries of the people of Paris. We endorse the republic under the reserve of your ratification. Without ratification, there is no act. Such were the explanations, such the language, such was the sense of the proclamation of the republic, by the majority of the provisional government.

### IX.

This sense, explained in all the letters to the people, in the proclamation, and in the thousand addresses of Lamartine and his colleagues to the people, from the Hôtel de Ville, was the continuous sense of all the words, all the thoughts, and all the acts, of this revolutionary dictatorship. The majority did not suffer a single day to disprove this signification of the acts of government. This commentary on its intentions is found, not only in the proclamations which founded the republic, with the reservation of this appeal to the people, — not only in the immediate convocation of the National Assembly, but in the numberless discourses in which the members of this majority addressed or replied to the moderate parties, who demanded free suffrage during their dictatorship, and the extreme parties, who demanded tyranny. The enemies of the republic have calumniated its authors in this point. They were desirous of detecting a theft or an usurpation in its foundation. They found but three things in the acts of a majority of this government:—a dictatorship, the shortest possible, accepted with no other ambition than that of serving in the name of the common danger; a bold, though temporary, initiative of the republic, conscientiously taken to try the fortune of liberty, and, of necessity, to stifle anarchy under the enthusiasm of the people; finally, an inviolable respect for national sovereignty, and an immediate and perpetual appeal to the people. This is the entire truth, the merit, the crime or the virtue, of this government.

### X.

As soon as the proclamation of the republic on these terms had been unanimously resolved upon, they hastened to send to the national printing-office to call in the decrees of govern-

ment which had not yet borne this titular formula. Since the government had been declared, it was of instant importance to deprive the extreme factions, which were agitating in the square, of this grievance, employed to prevent the pacification of the people. A tri-colored flag was planted at a window, and hundreds of pieces of paper, on which these words, "The Republic is proclaimed," were written, flew over the crowd. They were read, and passed from hand to hand. The phrase flew from mouth to mouth, and doubt and strife ceased. A hundred thousand men raised their arms to heaven. A unanimous shout ascended from the Grève, the quays, the bridges, and streets adjacent to the Hôtel de Ville. It extended and multiplied gradually, even to the Bastille and barriers of Paris.

The explosion of this sentiment, compressed for a half century on the lips and in the hearts of a part of the generation, was accomplished. The remainder of the citizens heard it; some with secret terror, others with astonishment, the greatest with that confused, and, so to speak, mechanical joy which salutes great novelties; but all without opposition and murmur, as a specific conclusion, causing the weapons to fall from the hands of combatants, and lightening the hearts of the citizens of the weight of anxiety and grief which had weighed for three days on the soul of the people. If the republic had only been proclaimed by the republican party, it would have caused that humiliation and anguish with which the triumph of a faction always fills impartial citizens. It would have been repulsed, perhaps, before the close of the night, by the repugnance of the National Guard. The Hôtel de Ville would certainly have been deserted, at all events, by all those who did not hold to the republican faction. They would have left the republic to the responsibility of its authors. This desertion of the National Guard and the moderate part of the population would have shown the republic in an isolation, which would have rendered it suspected. But the impartial names of Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, Marie, Crémieux, and Garnier Pagès, who were known to be strangers to every faction, enemies to all excess, inflexible against all violence, gave confidence to the mind of the city, and showed in perspective, in the republic signed by their hands, not gloomy recollections of the past, but horizons filled with promised rights, security and hope, for the unknown future, on which they entered with confidence on the faith of necessity.

## XI.

The republic once proclaimed, the government and the Hôtel de Ville seemed to draw a moment's breath, as if a new vital air from heaven had breathed upon this furnace of men. Uncertainty is the wind of popular passions, as it is, in the pains and labor of existence, half the weight upon the human heart.

A part of the people seemed to retire to go and spread the great news in their dwellings. With the exception of Lamartine and Marie, the greater part of the members of the government who were at the same time ministers successively left the Hôtel de Ville, and went to their departments; Ledru Rollin to the Interior, Arago to the Navy. The new ministers, strangers to government, — such as Goudchaux, of Finance, General Subervie, of War, Carnot, of Public Instruction, and Bethmont, of Commerce, — retired to go and establish subordination in their administration. Some returned, at intervals, to assist the government council in permanent session.

These first hours of the night were a tumult rather than a council. They were obliged to rise at every noise without; to sustain, by the weight of their shoulders, doors burst by blows from the butts of muskets, or arms impatient of resistance; to make way through naked weapons to harangue, implore, and subdue these detachments of the multitude; to bear them back, partly by eloquence, partly by force, always by a calm brow, cordial gesture, and energetic attitude, thus detaching one party to combat another; then, the tumult repressed, to reënter amidst applause which deafened the ear, shaking of hands that paralyzed the members, embraces which choked the respiration; to dry the perspiration, to resume their places coolly at the council-table, to digest proclamations and decrees, until some new assault jarred the ceilings, shook the doors, drove back the sentinels, twisted the bayonets, and recalled the citizens collected round the government, and its members themselves, to the same harangues, the same efforts, and the same dangers.

Lamartine was almost always summoned by name. His tall figure and sonorous voice rendered him most fitted for these conflicts with the crowd. His clothes were in tatters, his neck bare, his hair reeking with perspiration, and soiled with dust and smoke. He went out and returned, rather carried than escorted by groups of citizens, National Guards, and pupils of the schools who had attached themselves to his steps

without his knowing them, like a volunteer staff to a leader in the field of a revolution.

Among them was noticed a young professor of the college of France, Payer, whose very name Lamartine did not know, but whose cool ascendancy in the face of danger, and collectedness in the midst of tumult, characteristics of the men of crises, he admired. There was noted, also, a young man with blue eyes, light hair, and stentorian voice, whose gestures were imperious, whose stature was athletic, ruling, hectoring, and breaking up the masses, sabre in hand, and who, from the first day, both within and without the chateau, on foot or on horseback, assumed a magnetic empire over the multitude. This was Château Renaud.

There were, a young pupil of the Polytechnic School, handsome, calm, and mute, but always on his feet, like a statue of reflection in action, — a figure which recalled the silent Bonaparte of Vendémiaire; Dr. Sanson, placed in charge of the wounded, and the arrangement of the bodies heaped up in the courts and lower halls; Faivre, a young physician, his features excited by the whirl of action and the idea which he believed he saw bursting forth like a revelation of the people; Ernest Grégoire, an orator, diplomatist, and soldier of the masses, fitted for everything in those extreme moments when the division of faculties ceases, and the thought, word, and hand of intrepidity and address must be united in an instinct as rapid as the movements, as manifold as the faces, of a revolution; and a great number of others, whose names will be found in the explanatory notes to this history.

## XII.

Each member of the provisional government present in turn sustained the same assaults and the same fatigues; braved the same dangers, and achieved the same triumphs. Marie, immovable and cold, always seated or standing in the same place, prepared, pen in hand, the logical prefaces of the decrees, or instructions to the agents of the public force. His deep and ardent eye seemed to dart his will into the heart of the multitude, while his imperative gestures intimidated objection and subdued resistance. His lofty head, turned disdainfully towards the agitators, made an impression on turbulence, even without a word spoken.

Garnier Pagès, already broken down by suffering, and by



the efforts he had just made to conquer and concentrate in his hands the mayoralty of Paris, poured his voice, his soul, his gestures, and his sweat upon the multitude, in floods. His arms opened and closed upon his breast, as if to embrace the people. Goodness, love, and courage, illuminated his pale countenance with a ray of ardor which touched the most exasperated hearts. He did more than convince, he melted. Lamartine, who, till then, had only known the name and merit of Garnier Pagès, viewed him with admiration. "Take care of your life," said he; "economize your strength; do not pour out your whole soul at once: we shall have long days of struggling; do not exhaust all this courage in a single night." But Garnier Pagès took no care of himself. While sinking, he still required miracles of nature. It was the suicide of integrity. He finally fell from exhaustion on the floor, to repose his torn lungs, and recover a little voice in an hour's sleep. He was wrapped up in his cloak. But the fever of public good consumed him. He did not sleep, and, with a hoarse and broken voice, continued to order, counsel, and harangue.

Duclerc, who seemed to be his disciple and imitator, did not leave Garnier Pagès. He was an eminent editor of the *National*, intrusted with higher questions of finance and political economy. Young, handsome, and sedate, his look direct, his forehead ample, his lips firm, he spoke little, and acted only to the purpose. Thoughtful, untiring, going directly to his object at the first blow, he stated, cleared up, and systematized everything. In his expression, as in his mind, there was more of command than persuasion. He was felt to be the incarnation of order, seeking an issue out of disorder. He seemed to watch the first symptoms of a reconstituted government, to assume his natural place in it at the side of his master and friend. Lamartine, in the intervals of repose, took pleasure in contemplating this young man and seeing him act. Resource on the spur of the moment, regularity in confusion, decision in embarrassment, light in chaos — such did Duclerc appear to him.

Marrast, although less gifted by nature for making an impression on the masses, — a man for a select circle rather than a public place, — was imperturbable at his post, as secretary of the government, at the end of the council-table. If he did not speak to the people, he did not cease to counsel, direct, and write. His rapid pen recorded at a single dash a summary of the most stormy discussion. He added what should have

been said to what had been said. The most important considerations flowed, without an explosion, from his mind, like light itself which makes no noise while expanding over an entire object. This man, whose grace has been mistaken for weakness, did not falter a moment, either in look or in attitude, during the long convulsions of a revolution of which a fragment might, at any moment, strangle him in its grasp. He saw the peril, and smiled on it with a sad but genuine smile. Expecting everything, resigned to everything — uttering, in the midst of flame, those witty but thoughtful words which prove that the soul sports with danger, — such was the man at the first, and such he was throughout the duration of the dictatorship.

Other men, Pagnerre, Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, Thomas, the chief editor of the *National*, Hetzel, Bixio, Buchez, Flottard, Recurt, Bastide, almost all men of thought, belonging to the press of Paris, changed to men of action by circumstances, pressed into the narrow enclosure round the government, devoted to its orders, ready to counsel, indefatigable in working, and intrepid in danger. Their faces had become elevated, like their characters. The solemnity of the time lifted up those heads, ordinarily bowed over the writer's lamp. The shades and rivalries of opinion, which, in the morning, again divided these leaders and armies of the Parisian press, were now fused in one common and burning enthusiasm for the public safety.

In their midst was distinguished, by his bald forehead laden with revolutionary *souvenirs*, by the fine and contemplative expression of his features, and the active precision of his words, an old aid-de-camp of Lafayette, who had witnessed the abortion of the republic in this same palace in 1830, who distrusted the tribunes and the people, and who seemed to be watching the focus of the revolution. This was Sarrans. He was felt to be the soldier of the old wars of the republic, equally ready to write, act or speak, with the new ideas of the day.

### XIII.

Meanwhile night had fallen. The deep hum of the quarters in the vicinity of the centre sank with it. The citizens, satisfied with the existence of an active and firm government, recalled to their houses by the hour of rest, and the necessity of quieting their families, began to drop away. There only remained upon the place de Grève bivouacs, the rear-guards of

the revolution, combatants exhausted and tottering with cold and wine, who were watching, with lighted matches, round four pieces of artillery, charged with grape-shot, and the excited, feverish and tenacious mass, insatiable in agitation and action, which encamped, floated, or created disturbances, in the courts and halls or on the staircases of the Hôtel de Ville.

These masses were especially composed of old members of secret societies; an army of conspirators of all dates, from 1815; restless revolutionists, deceived in their hopes in 1830, by the revolution which they had created only to baffle them; and combatants of the three days, directed by committees of *La Réforme* newspaper, who had hoped that the government would belong exclusively to those who had so large a share of the bloodshed and victory.

To these three or four thousand men, animated by resentment and political ambition, were united, but still in small numbers, a few socialist and communist adepts, who saw in the explosion of the day the dawn of a loaded mine beneath the very foundations of ancient society, and who thought they held in their muskets the guarantee of their system, and of the renovation of humanity. The remainder was composed of those madmen who have no political system in their minds, nor social chimeras in their hearts, but who only receive a revolution on account of the disorder it perpetuates, the blood it sheds, and the terror it inspires. Writers and cold-blooded demagogues had nurtured them, for twenty years, on ferocious admiration for the grandeurs of crime, the sacrifices and the massacres of the former reign of terror. Few in number, they were still men decided to recognize no republic but by the scaffold, and no government but by the axe it would lend them to decimate the citizens.

Finally, the tide of the day had cast, and the night had left at the Hôtel de Ville, a portion of the ragged scum of the vicious population of great capitals, which commotions raise and keep afloat for a few days on the surface, until they sink again into their natural sewers; men always between two seas, of wine and blood, who scent carnage on quitting debauch, and who never cease to besiege the ear of the people till they have thrown them a carcass, or swept them into prison, as a disgrace to all parties. They were the drainings of the jails and galleys.

## XIV.

While the government was profiting by these first moments of quiet in the streets, to multiply its orders, regulate its relations with the different quarters, and send its decrees to the departments and the armies, these men, repudiated by the true people in other parts of this vast edifice, wavered, at the voice of speech-making demagogues, between the acceptance of the new government, and the installation of as many governments as they had chimeras, ambition, fury or crimes in their hearts. Tremendous vociferations rose at intervals, from the bottom of the court-yards, to the ears of the provisional government; discharges of musketry applauded the most incendiary motions. Here they spoke of planting the red flag, the symbol of blood that was to flow until terror had subdued all the enemies of disorder; there, of displaying the black flag, the sign of the misery and degradation of the proletary race, or the mourning of a suffering society, which ought not to declare itself at peace until after having wreaked its vengeance on the *bourgeoisie* and property.

Some wished the government to be chosen by nocturnal ballot, and that the members should only be selected from among the combatants of the barricades; others, that the leaders of the most unbridled socialist schools should be alone raised by the votes of the victorious working-men of different parties. These demanded that the government, whatever it might be, should deliberate in the presence and under the bayonets of delegates chosen by them as censors and avengers of all its acts; those, that the people should declare itself in permanence at the Hôtel de Ville, and should be itself its own government in an uninterrupted assembly, where all measures should be voted by acclamation.

Fanaticism, delirium, fever and intoxication, uttered these sinister or absurd notions at random, sustained here and there by confused acclamations, then instantly falling under the disgust of the multitude, who, like good citizens, treated them with horror or contempt.

## XV.

A certain number of the malecontents belonged to the fighting partisans of *La Réforme*. These more hot-headed republicans were astonished that the names of the writers or active men of this party, who had done everything for this triumph, did not



figure, or figured only as secretaries, in the government. They refused to recognize a power rushing from the Chamber of Deputies, as if to confiscate the spoil, without having battled or conspired. In this government, descending from above, they saw none of the names they had been accustomed to respect on their lists, and in the illegal meetings of conspirators against royalty. They read names suspected, in their eyes, of aristocratic origin, of complicity with monarchy, of a community of ideas or interests with the hereditary class of society. Of all the names in which their confidence was demanded,—Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Lamartine, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, Marie,—one alone, that of Ledru Rollin, was familiar, and touched their sympathies, as being the name of an orator who had proclaimed himself a republican in advance of the republic, and who had created or fanned the flame of the most burning democratic principles. But where was Louis Blanc, the publicist of the captivating dogmas of association and wages? Where was Flocon, the clear-sighted but fearless man of action, whose hands, blackened by the powder of so many battles, had been judged worthy to conquer, but not to govern?

Such were the complaints, grievances and murmurs. Such were soon the agitations which circulated among the shouting and swaying masses of combatants, in the lower stories, on the square, at the doors and in the court-yards of the palace.

An approaching explosion seemed imminent. A few men, devoted at once to order and progress, leaders of combatants, accredited journalists, municipal officers, mayors of Paris, and pupils of schools, endeavored to repress and bear back the crowd. The multitude accumulated, recoiled, and dissolved at their voices; then, thrilling again at the voice of another tribune, they scattered through the upper stories and the corridors, uttering imprecations, breaking windows, forcing doors, and loudly calling for the provisional government, that they might depose or turn them out of the palace. Prodigies of moral valor and physical force were performed, during these hours of confusion and trouble, in resistance to the scattered bands of insurgents, and to bear them down by words, or by the obstacle which the breasts of the little number of the defenders of the government incessantly opposed to them.

Lagrange, who had been installed, in the name of a delegation of combatants, Governor of the Hôtel de Ville, undecided yet as to the nature of the government he should recognize and cause to be respected, wandered about with his sabre in

his hand, and a pair of pistols in his belt, among the waves of this multitude. They recognize in him the type of their long sufferings, their triumph and their excitement. With the fire of courage flaming in his eye, the disorder of the general mind expressed in his waving hair, with extravagant gesture, and deep voice, he harangued the crowds that pressed round him as round an apparition from a dungeon. In all his addresses, which were at once fiery and soothing, he recommended temporization and truce to the people, rather than deference to the new power.

They saw that, hesitating himself, and strong in another commission, he delayed complete adhesion; ready to undertake the formation of the government, rather than obey it. Still his addresses, like his countenance, breathed a warm charity for the combatants, pity for the wounded, a horror of bloodshed, reconciliation between classes. A sort of apostle of peace, with arms in his hands, — thus did Lagrange appear, gesticulate and harangue, during this night.

Flocon, passing alternately and incessantly from action to speech and from speech to action, made generous efforts to calm these suspicions and this fury. Indifferent as to the share of the government which would fall to his part personally, provided the republic triumphed, his stoical coolness in the tumult never suffered his eye, thought, or word, to deviate from his object. His iron voice had the metallic notes of a musket-butt ringing on the pavement; his manly paleness, the concentration of his features, the bearing of his head as he shook it, his relations with the most intrepid soldiers of the revolution, who had known him under fire, his clothes loose, torn, and soiled with the smoke of powder, gave a sovereign ascendancy to his counsel. But now, exhausted by three days and nights of vigil, battle and sickness, his voice did not reach as far as his will.

Louis Blanc, followed by Albert, also moved among the groups, and addressed them. His name was then immensely popular. He united in his person the double *prestige* of the extreme political party which gave him his relations with *La Réforme*, and of his socialist doctrines on association. These theories crazed the working-men, by prospects which they thought they had at last secured by the points of their bayonets.

Albert followed Louis Blanc. A working-man himself, he was mute behind his master; but his expression of conviction, his pale face, his wild gestures, his palpitating lips, strongly

expressed a fanatical trust in the unknown. Without speaking, he was a conductor of that moral electricity with which Louis Blanc wished to charge the people, in order to shatter the old conditions of labor.

Louis Blanc and his friends preached neither anger nor bloodshed to the people. Their doctrines and their words were, on their lips, doctrines and words of peace. Louis Blanc strove, with an eloquence full of images, but cold at heart, like all ideal eloquence, to disarm the hand by dazzling the imagination. He merely hinted to the people that they should secure pledges of the government, by introducing their friends into it. He designated himself; he pointed to Albert. He was admired and applauded, rather than obeyed. His little figure buried him in a crowd; the people were astonished at the strong voice and lofty gestures proceeding from so feeble a body. The multitude always confound the strength, grandeur of character and ideas, with the stature of an orator. Apostles may be slight of figure—tribunes must challenge attention by their size, and rule with their aspect the public square. The sensual people measure men by the eye. The tumult increased; the insurrection was aggravated.

## XVI.

The insurgents came several times and knocked at the doors of the retreat where the provisional government was sitting, threatening to turn it out, and refusing all obedience to its decrees. Crémieux first, and Marie afterwards, had succeeded, by dint of firmness mingled with skilful supplications, to make these bands retire to the court-yards of the palace. They had won back the moral authority of the government. Seven times since night-fall had Lamartine left his pen to rush into the corridors, upon the landing-places, and even the steps of the Hôtel de Ville, followed by a few faithful citizens, to ask of these disorderly masses obedience or death. Each time, though received at first with imprecations and murmurs, he had ended by removing to the right or left sabres, poniards, and bayonets, brandished by drunken and unsteady hands; making a tribune of a window, a balustrade, or a flight of steps; causing weapons to sink, cries to cease, applause to burst forth, and tears of enthusiasm and reason to fall.

The last time, a phrase of happy coolness and audacity, involving a reproach in a pleasantry, had saved him. An irri-

tated mass covered the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. Musket-shots, directed against the windows, threatened to exterminate the feeble posts of volunteers who opposed this new invasion, with which the palace was going to be choked to suffocation. All voices were hushed, all arms weary, all supplication lost. They went in search of Lamartine: he came out once more; he came upon the landing-place of the first story, where some National Guards, some pupils of the Polytechnic School, and some intrepid citizens, were struggling hand to hand with the invaders. At his name and appearance the strife ceased for a moment, and the crowd opened. Lamartine saw the steps of the great staircase covered to the right and left with combatants, who formed a hedge of steel as far as the courts, and even out upon the square; — some, friendly and respectful, shaking his hand and loading him with blessings; the greater number irritated and frowning, their brows loaded with doubt, their looks full of suspicion, their gestures threatening, and their mutterings bitter. He feigned not to perceive these signs of anger. He descended to a level with the great interior court, where they had deposited the corpses, and where a forest of steel was waving over the heads of thousands of armed men. Thence a broad staircase leads down to the left, towards the great gate of Henry IV., which opens on the place de Grève, and where the people were half swallowed up. It was here that the tide of invasion, meeting the tide of defenders, produced the greatest confusion, tumult and shouting. "Lamartine is a traitor!" "Do not hear Lamartine!" "Down with the beguiler!" "To the lamp-post with traitors!" "The head — the head of Lamartine!" cried some madmen, against whose weapons he pressed in passing. Lamartine paused a moment on the first flight, and looking on the vociferators with a steady eye, and a slightly sarcastic but not irritating smile, replied: "My head, citizens? Would to God that you all had it at this moment on your shoulders; you would be calmer, and wiser, and the work of your revolution would be better done." At these words the imprecations changed into shouts of laughter, and the threats of death into shaking of hands. Lamartine vigorously pushed away one of the leaders who opposed his going to speak to the people in the square. "We know that thou art brave and honest," said the young man, "with a seductive figure and tragic gestures; but thou art not made to measure thyself with the people. Thou wilt lull its victory to sleep; thou art but a lyre — go and sing." "Leave me," replied Lamartine, without



being irritated by his apostrophe ; " the people have my head in pledge ; if I betray them, I first betray myself. You shall see whether I have the soul of a poet, or that of a citizen." And violently disengaging the collar of his coat from the hands which detained him, he went down, harangued the people in the square, brought them back to reason, and raised them to enthusiasm. The applauses of the square resounded even under the arches of the palace ; and these shouts of ten thousand voices intimidated the insurgents within. They felt that the people were for Lamartine. Lamartine reëntered, and went up stairs again, applauded and stifled with the embraces of the very men who demanded his head as he went down.

## XVII.

But while this agitation was subsiding on one side of the Hôtel de Ville, it was fermenting on the other. Hardly had Lamartine reëntered the cabinet of council when a new storm broke forth, and an assault more terrible than the preceding ones threatened to sweep away the government.

After having for a long time undulated hither and thither, from court to court, from square to square, and from tribune to tribune, in search of a place for deliberation, the crowd ended by collecting in the vast hall of Saint Jean, a kind of common forum for the great gatherings of the capital, and in the hall of council prepared for solemn deliberations.

There, on an estrade converted into a tribune, by the light of lamps and lustres lit up as in the theatre of a real drama, orators succeeded and surpassed each other in violence, one after another. They were agitating the question of a choice of government. " Who are these men, unknown to the people, who glide from the bosom of a vanquished Chamber to the head of a victorious people ? Where are their titles — their wounds ? What names do their hands show ? Are they black with powder, like our own ? Are they calloused, like yours, brave workmen, by handling tools of labor ? By what right do they make their decrees ? In the name of what principle, of what government, do they promulgate them ? Are they republicans ? and of what kind of republic ? Are they masked accomplices of the monarchy, introduced by it into our ranks, in order to stifle our just vengeance, and to bring us back, seduced and enchained, to the yoke of their barbarous society ? Let us send these men back to their source : they wear different clothes from ours ;

they speak a different language; they have different manners: these working-jackets, or these rags of misery, are the uniform of the people. Our leaders must be chosen among ourselves. Let us go and drive those away whom surprise and perfidy have given us."

Others, more moderate and more numerous, said: "Let us listen to them before judging and proscribing them. Let us call them hither and permit them to explain their designs."

Inexpressible tumults responded within and without the hall, to these opposing motions. The Hôtel de Ville seemed threatened with an explosion.

### XVIII.

Already bands detached from this centre of agitation had rushed forward upon the stairways; they had overturned and trampled under foot the sentinels, attacked the guards, invaded the narrow corridor which led to the double door of the cabinet of the government. Intrepid citizens, prodigal of their lives for the protection of order, had preceded them; they came to warn the council of the peril henceforth impossible to conjure down. But Garnier Pages, Carnot, Crémieux, Marrast, Lamartine, aided by the secretaries and some of the citizens, among whom figured in the first rank the impassible Bastide and the headstrong Ernest Grégoire, barricade the door; they pile against it, in order to increase its resistance, sofas and furniture, heavy with the weight of several men standing on the chairs and arm-chairs. All in the room press their shoulders against this fragile rampart, so as to sustain the assault and the weight of the assailants.

Scarcely had they taken these desperate precautions, when they heard the tumult, the shouts, the clashing of arms, the defiance, the imprecations, the steps, the heavy movements, of the column in the outer corridor. Those who defend it are thrust aside or trampled upon. Butt-ends of muskets, pommels of sabres, blows of the fist, sound against the first door. The panes of glass over its upper part shake, crack, and jingle upon the slabs of the pavement, in the passage between the two folding-doors. The cracking of wood shows the pressure of the crowd. The first door yields and bursts into splinters; the second is about to be forced in the same manner. A low and hurried dialogue ensues between the assailants and the members of the government. Marie, Crémieux, Garnier Pages,

their colleagues, their friends, refuse obstinately to obey the commands of the invaders. A sort of capitulation follows; the furniture is half removed; Ernest Grégoire, well known to both camps, partially opens the door; he announces that Lamartine is going to confer with the people, that he is going forth to harangue it, and to convince it of the intentions of the government.

Upon the name of Lamartine, at that time a charm over the people, curses changed into acclamations of confidence and love. Lamartine glides in the steps of Grégoire, of Payer, and yields himself, half stifled by the crowd, to the ebb and flow of this multitude. It becomes calm, and gradually suspends its convulsions before him. His lofty stature permits his head to tower above it; his serene countenance pacifies it; his voice, his gestures, make it open or recede. A counter-current sets in and bears him along through the obscure and unknown labyrinth of corridors and flights of stairs, as far as the entrance to the hall of popular deliberations. The provisional government, thus momentarily freed, recloses its doors. stations guards and sentinels, and fortifies itself against fresh assaults, uncertain all the while whether Lamartine would rise victor, or remain vanquished, in his struggle between two peoples and two governments.

### XIX.

The hall overflowed with crowds and tumult. A dismal light, gusts of warm breath exhaling from this furnace of men, clamors, now smothered, anon harsh and loud, issued from it. A long time was required before it could be penetrated by Lamartine and the group which accompanied him.

On the threshold he heard the voices of some orators, who were announcing him to the multitude. Those voices were now covered with applause, now repulsed by terms of defiance, of wrath and disdain. — Yes, yes! — No, no! — Let us listen to Lamartine! — Let's not listen to Lamartine! — *Vive Lamartine!* — Down with Lamartine! These outcries, accompanied by undulations, gestures, stamping with the feet, lifting of arms above the head, blows with the butt-ends of muskets striking the floor, almost equally contended for mastery in the audience.

During this tumult Lamartine made his way with difficulty through the dense crowd at the door; he was lifted forward by

vigorous arms as far as the foot of the little inner staircase, which led to the top of an estrade, serving as a kind of tribune, from which the people were addressed. The shades of night, imperfectly dispersed by a few gleams of light at the centre of the hall, the gas of lighted lamps at his feet, thickening the air, the smoke of musket-shots fired all day in the courts, and penetrating thence by the windows, the species of mist which the feverish perspiration and panting breath of a thousand men diffused throughout the hall, prevented him from clearly discovering, and have ever since prevented him from distinctly retracing, that scene. He only remembers that he rose above an agitated crowd at his feet; their countenances, pale with emotion, and blackened with powder, were lit up only at the foot of the estrade, and were turned towards him with various expressions. With the exception of two of those countenances, all were unknown to him; one was the face, strongly marked with resolution, of an old aid-de-camp of Lafayette, Sarrans, at once the writer, soldier and orator of liberty: the other was that of Coste, former editor of the journal *Le Temps*, whom Lamartine had previously known at Rome; this face appeared, after ten years, as that of an impassioned auditor of a new forum below these new rostra.

Beyond the first ranks of the spectators who stood around, the glimmering light, fading away into shadow, revealed on the floor at the further end, around and upon the steps that rose against the walls of the hall, nothing but agitated and numberless shadows, which moved about in the obscurity. Only the sabres, the barrels of muskets, the bayonets reflecting here and there the brightness of the lamps on the polished metal, flashed like fire-works over the heads of the multitude at each shuddering emotion of the audience.

Contradictory cries, feverish, frantic, were uttered at every movement by these thousands of mouths; a real storm of men, where every wind of opinion that passed over the crowd drew from each fresh wave a roaring of voices.

Lamartine, cast as it were upon the estrade as on a cape advanced into the midst of this swelling sea, contemplated it, uncertain whether it would sustain him or engulf him. Many orators, pressing round him to the right and left, and up to the steps of this sort of tribune, disputed his speaking by word and act. They uttered, confusedly, addresses and short incendiary inquiries to the assembly; but Lamartine, having succeeded in removing these oratorical rivals by the exertion



of hand and shoulder, and appearing at last alone and free before the eyes of the people, a silence, broken by murmurs, vociferations, and bitter apostrophes, was finally established by degrees. He attempted to speak.

## XX.

"Citizens," cried he, with the full power of a voice whose energy the danger of the country doubled, "behold me here ready to reply to you. Why have you summoned me?"

"To know by what right you constitute yourself a government of the people, and to understand whether we have to do with traitors, tyrants, or citizens worthy of the soul of the revolution," replied some voices from the midst of the auditory.

"By what right we constitute ourselves a government?" replied Lamartine, advancing and uncovering himself boldly to eyes, arms and murmurs, like a man who surrenders by laying down his weapons. "By right of the blood that flows, the fire which devours your edifices, the people without guides, and to-morrow perhaps without bread! the right of the most devoted and the most courageous! nay, since it must be spoken, citizens, the right of those who were the first to surrender their hearts to suspicion, their blood to the scaffold, their heads to the vengeance of people or kings, to save their nation. Do you envy us this right? You all possess it—assume it as we do! We do not contest it with you. You are all worthy of devoting yourselves to the common safety. We have no title but that derived from our consciences and your dangers. But the people, falling from a government into an interregnum, require chiefs. The voices of this people, victorious and trembling for their victory in the very heart of battle, have designated us, called us by name, and we have obeyed the summons. Would you, then, prolong an election, terrible and impossible, in the midst of fire and blood,—you are the masters; but the fire and blood will be upon your heads, and the nation will curse you."

"No! no!" cried voices already touched and recalled by this abandonment of all legal right, and by this invocation to the sole right of devotion. "Yes! yes!" replied other and more obstinate voices, "they have no right to rule us. They do not belong to the people; they do not come from the barricades. They came out of that venal assembly, where they

have breathed an atmosphere poisoned by corruption." "They have protested against corruption," said some. "They defended the cause of the people there," said others. "Well, let them declare, at least, what sort of a government they pretend to give us," cried the most moderate. "We have overthrown the monarchy — we have won a republic; let Lamartine explain whether or no he will give us the republic."

At this interrogatory, which came from every part of the throng assembled in the hall, Lamartine assumed that half smile which has the air of retaining a slightly sceptical indecision on the lips, an expression of countenance which seems to provoke an audience to extract the last secret of the listener's heart.

"The republic, citizens," said he, at last, in a tone of solemn interrogation, — "who has uttered the word republic?" — "Every one! every one!" replied hundreds of voices, and thousands of hands waving their weapons over their heads, in token of their wishes and their joy. — "The republic, citizens!" resumed Lamartine, with a more pensive and almost melancholy gravity. "Know you what you demand? Do you know what a republican government is?" — "Tell us, tell us," was the answer on all hands. — "The republic!" continued Lamartine. "Do you know that it is the government of the universal mind, and do you feel yourself ripe enough to have no other masters than yourselves, and no other government than your own reason? — "Yes, yes," said the people. — "The republic! Do you know that it is the government of justice, and do you feel sufficiently just to do right even to your enemies?"

"Yes! yes! yes!" repeated the people, with an accent of self-esteem and consciousness in their voice. — "The republic!" resumed Lamartine. "Do you know that it is the government of virtue, and do you feel yourselves virtuous enough, magnanimous enough, clement enough, to sacrifice yourself for others; to forget injuries, to look without envy on the happy, to forgive your enemies; to disarm your hearts of these sentences of death, these proscriptions, these scaffolds, which have dishonored this name under the popular tyranny that was called by the false name of the republic half a century ago, and to reconcile France with this name at the present day? — Question yourselves, search yourselves, and yourselves pronounce your own sentence or your own glory!"\*

\* The notes of these dialogues were taken on the spot, and furnished textually to the author, by two bystanders, MM. Sarrans and Ernest Grégoire.

"Yes, yes, yes! we feel ourselves capable of all these virtues," cried, with unanimous enthusiasm, these voices, which united in an almost religious tone at the voice of the orator. — "Do you feel it? Do you swear it? Do you invoke as a witness that God who manifests himself, in hours like this, by the cry and the instinct of the people?" continued Lamartine, pausing as if waiting a reply. A thunder of affirmation responds to his gesture. "Ah! well," said he, "it is you who have said it. You shall have a republic! if you are as worthy to preserve it as you have been heroic in gaining it." The hall, the courts, the arches, which extend under the vestibules, tremble with the prolonged echo of the applause.

"—— But let us understand ourselves," continues Lamartine; "we desire the republic; but we should be unworthy the name of republicans, if we designed to commence liberty by tyranny, or to deprive the government of liberty, equality, justice, religion, and virtue, as it were, by theft in a night of sedition and confusion like this. We have but one right, that of declaring our opinion, our wishes, to the people of Paris; that of taking the glorious initiative in the government of liberty brought about by the age, and of saying to the country and to the world, that we take upon ourselves the responsibility of proclaiming a provisional republic as the government of the country; but leaving to the country, to its thirty-six millions of souls, who are not here present, and who have the same right as ourselves to consent, to prefer or to repudiate, this or that form of constitution; reserving to them, I say, that which belongs to them, as our preferences belong to ourselves, namely, the expression of their sovereign will by universal suffrage, the first truth and only foundation of every national republic!"

"Yes, yes, it is right! it is right!" reply the people. "France is not here. Paris is the head; but Paris ought to guide, and not oppress, the members."

"*Vive la république! Vive le gouvernement provisoire! Vive Lamartine!* Let the provisional government save us; it is worthy of its command. To choose another would divide the people, and offer an opportunity for tyranny to return."

At these cries, Lamartine descends in triumph from the estrade, in the midst of unanimous applause. He re-established order; he stationed the posts, sentinels, and cannon in the courts; he ascended, assured of the confidence of the people, and the unity of the provisional government.

## XXI.

During his absence, his colleagues, Marie and Garnier Pagès, assisted by Pagnerre, Flottard, Bastide, Payer, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Marrast, and a group of bold and indefatigable citizens, continued to provide for circumstances with the energy of a government unquestioned and everywhere present. Numerous decrees resolved upon with the rapidity of thought, and with the vigor of will that disconcerts resistance, had been passed in a few hours after the reunion of the government. This government defended itself with one hand and organized with the other. Ministers had been nominated; generals appointed; orders flew over all the roads of France and the colonies, to regulate the revolution and to prevent civil war.

Arago considered the fleet. A minister obeyed by the sole authority of his name, matured for command, inaccessible to the umbrage and repugnance of parties, he had no fear of provoking the murmurs of the exclusive republicans, by appointing Admiral Baudin to the command of the fleet of Toulon. Without inquiring what gratitude and regret for the princes of the fallen dynasty that officer might cherish in his heart, he trusted to the patriotism of the soldier. The government ratified his choice without hesitation. By the combined orders of the minister of war, Subervie, and Arago, officers of the navy and army already hastened towards the Mediterranean and Algiers, to demand obedience from our fleets and armies; and from the princes themselves, who commanded them, the recognition of the government which had dethroned their family.

Instructed by history and experience as to the irresistible influence which the sovereign idea of the unity of his country exercises over the French soldier, the members of the government did not doubt that their orders would be everywhere obeyed.

Nevertheless, the Prince de Joinville, loved by the sailors, commanded a squadron at sea. The Duke of Aumale and the Duke of Montpensier commanded a hundred thousand men in Algiers. The south was royalist. The navy might unite with the army and the princes, and bring back to Toulon an army of sixty thousand men in a few days. The king, of whose designs they were yet ignorant, might retire towards Lille, call to him the armies of Paris, of the North and of the Rhine, and thus close, in a few days, the capital and the heart of France, between two civil wars.



The government faced these possibilities with a firm look, determined to anticipate them by the rapidity of its measures, or to vanquish them by the prompt organization of the republican forces in Paris. Success did not even seem doubtful. Against all the hesitation of the colonies and provinces, there was enough enthusiasm in Paris to have raised the whole country under the very footsteps of the court and the troops. Changes of government in France are explosions, and not campaigns. There are never two spirits at once in this great people. Revolutions among them are sudden; long civil wars impossible. This is at once the weakness of government and the strength of the nation.

While the small number of members of the government remaining during the night on the battle-ground of the Hôtel de Ville thus carried out the measures concerted in the evening with their colleagues, the minister of the interior, M. Ledru Rollin, surrounded by the combatants of the three days, hurried through the capital, rallying to the support of the government the conspirators of the republican party. He pacified them by the victory. He charged them to carry the news to their brethren of the departments. He organized his ministry; nominated, in haste, the first commissioners sent from Paris to replace the prefects of the monarchy, or to acknowledge the provisional administrators which the towns had themselves appointed at the first report of the revolution.

Caussidière, Louis Blanc, Albert, Flocon, each bringing to the new power the portion of influence and the mass of followers which their party gave them among the different ranks of the people, grouped themselves round the minister of the interior. Caussidière, thrown upon the prefecture of police, with an armed and confused crowd of five or six thousand men of the sections, disputed for a moment the revolutionary authority of Sobrier. Both, still with sword in hand, their faces covered with the smoke of the combat, with fire in their eyes, and blood on their garments, bivouacked, with the companions of their struggle, in the courts and streets adjacent to the prefecture. They kept their soldiers under arms. They guarded their banners, only recognizing the provisional government with hesitation and murmuring. They reserved to themselves the power of obeying or resisting its orders. They appeared to wish to fortify themselves in this post, and not to disband the troops of the revolution, armed by their hands. But at the same time, while they preserved the nucleus of the combatants

of February around them, they employed with energy their ascendancy over these pretorians of the revolution, far better disciplined and more intrepid than the masses, to extinguish the fire, to disarm the people, to punish individual attempts against persons and property; an arbitrary police, absolute, irresistible, constituted by the very persons against whom had been exercised for fifteen years the police of royalty.

This camp of the prefecture of police, with its burning fires, its stacks of arms, its soldiers in rags, torn and stained with blood, its barricades illuminated at the top with lamps, its sentries, its advanced guards, its detachments entering and departing on rapid expeditions, ruled by the colossal form, the abrupt gesture, and the broken yet bellowing voice of Caussidière, offered the true image of this commencement of order, coming still with disorder, out of the chaos of a demolished society.

Some members of the government were alarmed at the neighborhood of this camp, and the monarchical rivalry for the government of Paris disputed between the mayor of Paris and the new prefect of police. Lamartine did not partake these disquietudes. He went alone into the midst of the camp of the mountaineers. He saw from the face of these men, he understood from their discourse, that they were at once the instruments of an accomplished revolution and of a new order of society to be created. The soldier-like but humane energy of Caussidière pleased him. He saw that this party chieftain had a heart as generous as his hand was strong. He believed that his artifice took nothing from his honesty; that he was satisfied and proud of the victory. But as this very pride made it a point of honor with him to restrain every excess, he resolved to sustain Caussidière in this half submission, which, granting him a kind of supremacy over disorder, engaged him more surely to quell it.

Caussidière, on his part, with that instinctive diplomacy more able than acquired ability, affected in his relations with government at once a deference and independence, which left things to fluctuate between complete obedience and secret insurrection. Thus, Lamartine showed himself from the first day openly disposed to yield to Caussidière everything he demanded, as to authority, men, ammunition and powder, to compose for himself a force of high police, consisting of two or three thousand chosen troops; to constitute them, during the general want of all repressive force, the temporary pretorians

of public order in Paris. Little did it matter to him that this order was formed of discordant elements, and bore the name of Caussidière or the name of the mayor of Paris, provided the revolution was not dishonored by crimes, and that the people did not taste that blood for which it thirsted, and had not been satisfied at the beginning of the revolution.

## XXII.

It was from the same inspiration that he proposed to his colleagues another measure, which appeared at first sight the greatest rashness, but which was in fact the height of prudence.

The day had gone down upon that tumultuous army of people, wandering, to the sounds of musket-shots and songs of victory, round the Hôtel de Ville. This people, hungry for liberty, began to be hungry for bread. Some citizens, in alarm, came to speak to Lamartine of the state of the town, of the disturbances of the morrow, and of the pangs of the future. He rose from the seat where he was occupied in drafting proclamations to the people and army, and followed these citizens into a neighboring apartment, from which a window opened on the place de Grève, and allowed the eye to see the outlets of the streets of the faubourg du Temple, of the faubourg du Saint-Antoine, and the bridges and quays which extend to the faubourg Saint-Marceau. There was an ocean of men under the whirlwind of all the passions of a day of battle. There was in this multitude enough to recruit ten revolutions.

Lamartine was struck with the calm countenance, at once enthusiastic and religious, of the immense majority of the people among the grown men and the workmen of mature ages. He understood that it was no longer the people of 1793; that a spirit of intelligence and order had penetrated these masses, and that reason, expressed by speech, would find in the soul of these men an echo, in their arm a force.

But he saw floating here and there, in the midst of these serious groups, another mass, movable, turbulent, light as foam; they were children or youths from twelve to twenty years of age, thoughtless by nature, undisciplined from their constant wandering about the capital, irresponsible for their acts from their youth and levity, without chief and without cause, always ready to take the first comer for their chief, and the first disorder for their cause.

He foresaw with dread the terrible complications of misery, passion and commotion, which this mass of young people, escaped from the work-shops, not finding them reopened, would bring upon Paris, if the republic did not seize them at the first hour, to assist them by its pay, to embody them among its forces, and range them on the side of good citizens. He judged, at a glance, that their number was from twenty to twenty-five thousand. A shudder of anticipated terror thrilled him. A flash of foresight and resolution illuminated his mind. These twenty-five thousand children of Paris, left in the ranks of the insurgent people, would become an irresistible element of permanent sedition. The National Guard, formed from a single class of citizens, rich and settled, was about to be disbanded in fact for many months; the equality of the right of suffrage was about to be extended by the bayonet. The army, temporarily suspected by the people, against whom it had just fought, could not reënter Paris without rekindling civil war. It was necessary that the capital, of its own accord, should invite it to an honorable and safe reconciliation, when the city was itself armed with its two hundred thousand National Guards. This absence of the army, this disappearance of the decimated Municipal Guard, this forced recomposition of the new National Guard, its control, its elections, its equipment, would leave Paris for an indeterminate space of time to its own mercy. Civil war in the provinces, the possible invasion of the frontiers, might call for sudden recruits. Lamartine calculated, at a glance, that these twenty-five thousand young people, abandoned to vagrancy and sedition, or these twenty-five thousand young soldiers, enrolled under the discipline and power of the government, would make a real difference of fifty thousand men for the cause of order, against the cause of anarchy. He reëntered. He presented in two words these rapid considerations to his colleagues. They felt them without discussing them. A nod of the head was the only vote in these emergencies. The numerous decrees, signed in three hours, had exhausted the council-board. Payer handed him a strip of common paper, torn from a leaf already half written over, and Lamartine drafted the decree which instituted a body comprising twenty-four battalions of the *garde mobile*, and passed the paper to his colleagues. They signed it. The same night the enlisting was commenced.

These youth, throwing themselves in crowds into this first corps of the republic, proud of its name, soon became worthy of its part in the foundation of liberty.



The force destined to support and repress the revolution was thus drawn from the revolution itself; true army of a warlike people, enrolled by enthusiasm, recruited by misery, disciplined by its own spirit, clothed partly in rags, and defending the gates and the property of a luxurious city. The *garde mobile* must save Paris from disorder for four months, and save society from disorder on the fifth month. Its creation was the presage of the safety of the republic in the contests of June. It has since experienced the ingratitude of the citizens for whom it shed its blood.

## XXIII.

Thus, in a few hours, contending with the commotions, the shocks, assaults and menaces, of a reviving insurrection, in the midst of a palace occupied by twenty thousand men, armed, divided, agitated and torn by conflicting opinions, the provisional government, making use of every moment, fathoming every abyss, watching every gleam of public safety, seizing on all the threads of the woof of annihilated authority, had caused to be recognized in itself that dictatorial authority, the first and last instinct of a dissolved society. It had defended, by its usurped power, usurped over anarchy, the supreme power of the nation. It had frustrated, by force of audacity, all attempts of the insurgents to substitute any other government for its own. It had prevented all possibility of the return of the government recently overthrown in Paris. It had caused the firing to cease; it had opened the barricades; it had extinguished the conflagration, reëstablished the communications of Paris with the provinces, informed and astonished the departments by the promptness of its decisions, created new magistrates for the people, confirmed the old ones, despatched its agents, received the obedience of the troops, provided for the subsistence of Paris, nominated the ministers, reorganized the municipal police, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, suspended the Chamber of Peers, proclaimed its will, and that of the people of Paris, to change the monarchy into a republic under the ratification of the sovereignty of the people, instituted the Republican Guard for the strength of the police, and the Garde Mobile for the strength of society, appointed generals, caused the forts to be occupied, received the submission of Vincennes, and preserved that arsenal. It had, in fine, succored the wounded, and guaranteed the preservation of the Tuileries, by converting them for the time into a

hospital for the people; ordered the enlargement of the body of the National Guard; enlisted the people, that civic force, the only one then possible; it had caused religion and property to be respected, proclaimed the fusion and harmony of the different classes, under the name of fraternity, and almost changed into a peaceful and secure night, the night of anarchy, civil war, conflagration, pillage and death, which promised the citizens the overthrow of every power. Sixty-two proclamations, deliberations, orders or decrees, passed in a few hours, and executed by the zeal and courage of the citizens who offered themselves as auxiliaries to the government, produced and established these results before midnight.

#### XXIV.

The weariness of the people, who had been standing for the last twenty-four hours, the coolness of the government, and the last effort of Lamartine, had succeeded in clearing the Hôtel de Ville and the Grève of the tumultuous crowds with which it had been besieged during the morning. The men who wished the tyranny of a government of victory and of the commune of Paris, vanquished by the good sense of the people, and the acclamations which had followed Lamartine, renounced for that night their designs. The enthusiasm had swept away everything, even to the thought of resistance. They had even themselves partaken of it. They retired mingling their applause with their murmurs. The dream of a government tumultuous and violent as the element whence it came had escaped them as a prey, at the very moment when they thought they had seized it. They went to conspire during that night openly to wrest it by force in the morning. Neither Lamartine, nor the members of the government, a few of whom remained with him at the Hôtel de Ville, suspected this return, so near and so menacing of the perils which they had just conjured down.

#### XXV.

Overcome with fatigue, exhausted in voice; without other couch for the repose of their bodies than the floor of the council-hall; without other food to refresh their strength than a morsel of bread, broken among them upon the table where they toiled; without other drink than some drops of wine remaining from the breakfast of a door-keeper of the prefect of Paris, and drank

out of a broken piece of delf-ware picked up from among the rubbish of the palace, they began, at last, to breathe, reviewing what they had already done, and forgetting what remained for them to do.

The members of the government retired, successively, one by one. The fellow-laborers, who seconded them with all their courage and their zeal, Buchez, Pagnerre, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, Recurt, Flottard, Payer, Bastide, Flocon, and fifty or sixty other bold citizens, remained, and provided with inspiration for all the secondary wants recurring every minute. But the great affairs were momentarily accomplished. Others lay concealed under the shades of night. Marie and Lamartine determined to share the last watches of this night, and to go, in turn, to reassure their families, for a moment, before returning to take their post where the morning prepared for them new assaults.

Lamartine thus went out at midnight from the Hôtel de Ville, without being recognized. He was accompanied by Payer, Ernest Grégoire, and Doctor Faivre, bold companions of the dangers of the day, whom he did not know a few hours before. He had seen them in the fire of the revolution. That was sufficient to attach these citizens to one another. Such hours reveal the character of men more than years of ordinary acquaintance.

The night was stormy and dark. The damp wind drove the heavy clouds through the sky, and the smoke rising from the lamps on the crest of the barricades, and caused the vanes and iron mouths of the chimneys to groan upon the roofs. At the entrance of every street, the voluntary sentinels of the people watched, with loaded muskets in their hands, with no other watchword than their spontaneous zeal to defend the security of their quarter. They said they were guarding their own honor, for fear that crime should disgrace their victory.

From space to space were found large fires burning, round which bivouacked, on a little straw, groups of sleeping combatants. Their sentinels obeyed, like disciplined soldiers, the chiefs who they had chosen by instinct, or recognized by the proof of moral superiority. No disorder, no tumult, no menacing vociferation, no abuse, saddened these assemblies. They demanded, with politeness, the countersigns from the citizens who passed them. They informed themselves of the news of the hour—the resolutions and decrees of the government. They applauded the name of republic. They swore to defend

and to honor it by magnanimity and forgiveness. They testified neither resentment, nor anger, nor thirst for vengeance. Their emotion was only enthusiasm, and the hope of prosperity. Earth should confide in, heaven should smile upon, the sentiments of this people during such a night.

Only from time to time, and from distance to distance, were heard a few detonations and balls whistling afar off in the air. These came from the posts of the combatants, who fired at random to inform the troops, of whose dispositions they were ignorant, that the army of the people was on foot, and that a surprise was impossible. Lamartine and his friends everywhere harangued the posts, reassured them, and were received with cries of "*Vive le gouvernement provisoire !*" Only, as they became distant from the Hôtel de Ville, the posts became more rare. Here and there, some combatants of the three days wandered in groups, without chiefs, in the streets and on the quays, intoxicated with battle and wine ; they shouted cries of victory, and struck the doors with the butt-ends of their muskets, or with the handles of their swords. They kindled watch fires, as signs of joy, rather than signs of death. At the extremity of the bridge of the Tuileries, at the entrance of the rue du Bac, and in the streets adjacent to the faubourg Saint Germain, these watch-fires were prolonged throughout the night. Lamartine could not reach the door of his house, except by passing this fire of the *tirailleurs*.

After having changed his clothes, which had been torn to rags by the tumults of the day, and taken two or three hours sleep, he returned, on foot, at four o'clock in the morning, to the Hôtel de Ville.

The late hours of the night had more completely put the town to sleep. The fires were extinguished on the barricades. The sentinels of the people slept with their elbows resting on the mouths of their muskets. A certain dull noise was heard coming from the deep and dark streets that surround the place de Grève. Groups of four or five armed men traversed, here and there, the quay, the streets, and the squares, with rapid steps. They conversed as they marched, in low voices, like conspirators. These men were, in general, differently clothed from the rest of the people. Riding-coats of a dark color ; caps of dark cloth, with red edgings ; pantaloons and boots of a certain elegance ; thick beards upon the chin and lips, carefully cut and combed ; delicate and white hands, rather made to hold the pen than the tool ; intelligent looks, but suspicious and eager as



conspiracy, showed that these men did not belong, by their labor at least, to the destitute classes, but were their leaders, their agitators, and their chiefs. Lamartine perceived, by the light of the bivouac fires, that they wore red ribands in their button-holes, and red cockades on their hats. He believed that it was a simple rallying-sign, set up to recognize each other during the days of combat which had just passed by. He entered the Hôtel de Ville without suspicion, and roused his colleague, Marie, who went, in his turn, to see and reäsure his friends.

Calm, silence, and sleep, reigned at this hour in all parts of this vast edifice, so noisy a few hours before. This silence was only interrupted by the groans and the dreams, broken with the loud cries of agony, of the wounded and the dying, who strowed the *salle du trône*. Lamartine resumed his post in the somewhat enlarged, half empty, and better protected precincts of the provisional government. In drafting orders and preparing decrees, he awaited there the dawn of day, and the return of some of his colleagues.

## BOOK VII.

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### I.

DURING that cessation of thoughts and events which the advanced hours of the night, and especially the twilight of the morning, always produces, even in the convulsions of battles and revolutions, one party alone had watched, to regain, with all its forces, on the following day, the victory, and the direction of affairs, which the provisional government had taken from it, as we have seen, in the evening. To better comprehend this narrative, we must resolve, with precision and justice, the three parties which produced the revolution; and which, when the revolution was once accomplished by the flight of the king, had agreed to proclaim or adopt the republic.

These three parties were, first, the liberal and national party, composed of all the friends of liberty and of the progress of institutions, taken from all classes of the population, without exception of social condition or fortune.

Second, the socialist party, composed of the partisans, then united in a single army, of different sects, schools, or systems, which tend to the renovation, more or less radical, of society, by a new distribution of the conditions of labor, or of the foundations of property.

Lastly, the revolutionary party, composed of those for whom revolutions are, in themselves, their only aim; men regardless of all philosophic love for progress, indifferent to the dreams of radical amelioration, hurrying into revolutions for the sake of their excitement, having in their soul neither the consecrated morality of those who consider governments only as instruments for the people's welfare, nor in their imagination the chimeras of those who believe they can renovate entirely a social order without burying man under its ruins. These revolutionaries, without faith, without ideas, but filled with passions and mental commotions, wish for convulsions in their own image, and find in prolonged convulsions their only ideal.

For their whole theory, they aspire to revolutionary governments without faith, without law, without end, without peace, without truce, and without morality, like themselves.

## II.

The first of these parties, that is to say, the national and liberal party, was, in the main, the one which had contributed the most to the revolution, by its estrangement from royal power, by the agitation of its reform banquets, by its personal opposition to the king in the Chambers; in fine, by the desertion of the National Guard, united by reform to the people, by the inactivity of the troops, and by the prompt adhesion of the generals to the new government. This party, sincerely grown up in liberalism for thirty years, imbued with the feeling of its dignity as citizens, feeling itself able to dispense with the king, and capable of self-government, had smoothly entered the republic. It congratulated itself with having quelled anarchy at the first blow. The popularity, promptness, and energy of the provisional government had reconstructed in eighteen hours the elements of order, by throwing itself, without hesitation, under the ruins of the general crash. The national party was already only occupied with thinking how to restrain and regulate a revolution, which it accepted on the condition that it should be restrained and regulated in the establishment of the great general interests of society.

## III.

The second party, that of the socialists, of every sect, was divided into rival schools. The schools were only united in the censure, more or less radical, of the social and traditional order of societies. Their theories, all tending to the better division of profits and employments, to the suppression of personal property, to the community of goods, differed, nevertheless, as to the ways and means by which this radical leveling of society should be accomplished. Some aim at it by what they call the organization of labor; that is to say, the arbitration of government being established in the place of the free competition between capital and wages,—a sure mode of destroying them both. Such was especially the character of the school of M. Louis Blanc, a kind of industrial and *mobile* communism, which did not, nominally, dispossess either the

proprietor of the soil or the proprietor of capital, but which, by depriving them both of their liberty, really destroyed them in action, and was equivalent to a confiscation of all capital, since it was the confiscation of all interest.

This system, moderated and disguised by its formulas, founded upon a real principle of justice, equality and compassion for the brutalities of competition, and the wrongs, too often real, of capital, set forth by its author with a plausible sophistry which convinced the ignorant, and with a talent of style and eloquence which dazzled youth, and resounded among the masses, was of all these systems the one which had the most serious sectaries. The cry of organization of labor had become, thanks to the obscurity of the terms, for ten years, the cry of the crusade of the destitute against the political and social state.

This cry, incomprehensible to the educated classes, had, in their eyes, the charm and prestige of mystery. It was the mirage of philosophy! To the laborious classes of industry, this cry meant justice, reparation, hope, and consolation. Too little enlightened to sound it to the bottom, and discover its impossibilities, its deceptions and miseries, these classes attached themselves to it so much the more, as they only saw in it a practicable, easy and inoffensive amelioration of the conditions of labor; an amelioration compatible, in their opinion, with property, riches and capital, which they did not wish to assault by violence and spoliation. This system, at an epoch, and in cities, where industry accumulated floating and suffering masses of unemployed or worn-out workmen, must rapidly rally an army of the destitute under its banner. This party was the vanguard of communism, under a name which deceived every one, even its own soldiers.

#### IV.

The other socialist schools were, first, that of Fourier, sprung from the ruins of Saint Simonism, which was born and died in 1830. The idea of Fourierism, more vast, more profound, more animated by a spiritual thought, was propagated by means of an apostleship, and was elevated to the position of a religion of society, by the faith and the talent of its principal apostles. This sect had its daily catechism, commented upon at Paris, in the journal *La Démocratie Pacifique*, under the direction of MM. Considérant, Hennequin, and Cantagrel.



It had its chapels-of-ease, its missions, its rooms for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, its rolls, and its supplies of the initiated, in all classes of the departments, and throughout Europe. It did not present itself as a subversion of existing society, but as a great experiment of a regenerated society, demanding only, with respectful tolerance for vested rights, a place in discussion for its theories, a place upon the soil for its proofs. It did not wish to constrain — it wished to convince. It was a dream in action. The community, which it preached, under the forms of its *phalanstères*, a kind of industrial and agricultural monasteries, supposed angels to practise it, gods to govern it, mysteries to accomplish it. It was these very mysteries, in vain undermined by reasoning, and in vain insulted by ridicule, that seemed to attach its sectaries to it more closely. Mysticism is the cement of illusions. It renders them holy in the eyes of those who partake them. Enthusiasm is incurable, when the enthusiasts believe themselves inspired, and when the inspired believe themselves martyrs.

If Fourierism had, in its principal adepts, the illusions and superstitions of a religion, it had also its honesty and virtues. It had always refused to unite itself with political parties hostile to the established government. Its part of philosophy and religion made it despise the part of faction. It recommended peace to nations, order and toleration to citizens. It practised courageously, in its acts and writings, that which it preached. It was a doctrine of good faith, of harmony and peace; a pacific doctrine, like that of the Quakers of America: we might fear it, discuss it, or laugh at it; we could not withhold from it our esteem. It might make madmen, but never criminals.

## V.

Under this great sect, secondary and partial sects were divided as to the practical application of the common doctrine of the expropriation of the individual man in society. Some adopted the incoherent and confused reveries of the *Icarians*, under the direction of M. Cabet, — a sort of posthumous but humane Babeuf, — inciting to an agrarian community all the malecontents of labor, all those proscribed by riches, all the victims of the industry of cities. Others sought to find some of the mirages of the new society in the natural instincts of man, through the perspective metaphysics of M. Pierre Leroux, enlightened by a ray of Christianity. Others were pleased to avenge their position by following the desperate doctrines of a

great sophist. This sophist avowed his audacity. He aspired to the complete ruin of the thinking and political world. He was delighted with the ruins of the present, and the chaos of the future. He was the Nemesis of ancient societies. His name was M. Proudhon. But his ruinous philosophy was at least learned. All the genius that sophistry can have he possessed. He played with falsehoods and truths as the Greek children with their osselets.

Others, in fine, true barbarians of civilization, had neither doctrine, nor faith, nor social religion, nor masters, nor illusions, nor sects; they had hunger and thirst for destruction.

A feeling, become inveterate from trouble, irritated to hatred, and perverted to vice, fermented for many years in their souls. This feeling urged them, at least, to destroy the institution, to which they attributed their sufferings, when they should have attributed them to the imperfection inherent, from our nature, in human institutions. These last were few in number, and lay concealed in the sinks of the capital and the great industrial towns.

The other chiefs and socialist sects, which we have just enumerated, were far from resembling these desperadoes of disorder. They had among them, at the side of lawful and lofty aspirations for the amelioration of social order, false ideas, impracticable, subversive of all justice, all family, all wealth, all instincts, in their application. But they were not voluntarily immoral or perverse. These men, impassioned even to fanaticism, — some from pride for their system, others by religious desire for the progress of society, — believed, at least, that they had an idea. An idea, even a false one, in which one firmly believes, and to which one is fanatically devoted, carries with it its own morality. This idea may be absurd, but it is not criminal; it is what false religions are to people — a delirium before reason, a virtue before conscience. It wishes the impossible, but it does not wish to achieve it by crime.

Such was the character, at this time, of the different socialist schools that proclaimed the republic with the republicans. None of these sects, none of these chiefs, desired to urge the republic to destruction, violence and blood, in order to find in these ruins and this blood the problem of their school victorious. History should not calumniate opinions, which afterwards became factions, but which then were only hopes. It should relate whatever it has seen to the honor and for the *republic* policy, as well as for the condemnation, of the socialists.

## VI.

An enthusiasm, sincere and religious in the majority, had seized at this moment on the socialists of the different sects. It elevated the masters and disciples above evil thoughts, low ambition, and, still more, above the ferocity of spirit which has since been imputed to them. Enthusiasm temporarily sanctified all hearts; that of the socialists, and especially of the disciples of Fourier and Raspail, was inflamed even to ecstasy. The mould of the world seemed to them to have been suddenly and miraculously broken before them; they all of them hoped to cast more easily the renewed world into a mould more or less conformable to their opinions. This joy unveiled their hearts; there flowed from them at this time only the effusion of sentiments humane, fraternal, indulgent for the past, respectful towards vested rights. They appeared as the reformers of social wrongs, the protectors of the wealthy, and providential for the destitute. They offered their concurrence, their influence, their vigilance, their bayonets, and their blood, to the members of the government, to aid them to sustain order, to humanize the revolution, to discipline the republic, to protect industry, land and property. They wished a gradual and rational transformation, not a deluge. There proceeded from their lips, in these first hours of explosion, when the soul is revealed, not a word expressive of the rage of vengeance, of resentment, or division, among the classes; there proceeded no word which might not be registered to the honor of the human race. Their countenances, their eyes, their tears, their gestures, all attested the sincerity of their words. They did not surely dream of belying them, on the morrow, by their acts. Behold the testimony. The members of the government, who are the most opposed to them in theory, owe it to history, to men, and to God.

## VII.

The third party was that which already conspired against the revolution it had made, before it was fully accomplished.

It is of importance for history, for the nation, and for humanity, to closely analyze the elements of this party. It destroyed the first republic, by mingling itself with it; it aspired from the first night to destroy the second. This party exists everywhere, as the element of disorder and crime, the froth of the people; it exists in France alone as a theoretical and political party.

The first French revolution—at first a philosophy, then a conflict between the past and future—had terrible struggles to sustain and engage, in order to gain the victory over aristocracy, despotism, and the church, who were in possession of the old world, and to acquire equality, liberty, and toleration, and the portion of applicable truths which the modern French reason wished to have embodied in legislation and the government. In this triple civil war of ideas, conscience and interest, which lasted from 1789 to 1796, all the elements, good or bad, of a revolution were roused, mingled and confounded. Philosophers, legislators, orators, the soldiers and tribunes of the revolution, at first contended generously, each with his own opinions and his own arms. But affairs becoming embroiled, rage, violence, tyranny, cruelty, and revolutionary crime, played their part in those dark days. Dictatorships of the demagogue, proscriptions, confiscations, scaffolds, punishments, wholesale assassinations, in fine, like those of September, had their days and their year in the revolution. These eclipses of justice and the moderation of humanity affrighted the world, rendered the republic unpopular, dishonored the people; they delighted certain disordered spirits, and certain perverse hearts. Danton one day, fatal to his name, Marat and his accomplices always, Saint-Just sometimes, excused crime. They glorified it as an instrument of audacity; they vaunted it as a triumph of logic over pity, as a meritorious triumph of will over conscience. The human race let them strike and speak, and the horror of history refuted their sophisms. When we analyze, at the present day, in cool blood, their theory of the pretended salvation of the republic by crime, we find that the republic of '93 owes nothing to these crimes, if it be not the failure of the principle, the reprobation of the means, the postponement of the true republic, and the despotism of a soldier.

But sophistry is pleasing to men, sometimes as mental originality, sometimes as conscientious daring, sometimes as a defiance to prevailing opinion. Scarcely had the blood of the revolution been stanchied, than there were found publicists and historians, some perverse, others fatalists, others only indulgent towards sophistry, who coolly took up the ebullitions of Danton, and the aphorisms of Saint-Just, to form them into a theory of revolutions, and a superhuman system of history. They affected an arrogant pity for the scruples of honesty and humanity; they attributed to statesmen in times of revolution I know not what supreme right to compel, to proscribe, to sacrifice their



enemies or their rivals ; a right which placed them, in their opinion, not only above all written justice, but above even equity : they overturned nature to give credit to their historical system ; they deified the executioners, and poured contempt on the victims. This school multiplied during the restoration, and during the reign of Louis Philippe. Opposition made the sophistry popular ; immorality welcomed it ; imitation propagated it ; the after-taste of crime, which is concealed within the depths of certain souls, rejoiced in it. To suppress remorse was not enough ; the offence must needs be sanctioned : this height of absurdity was reached ; generations of minds were nourished with these ideas ; false natures diffused them ; feeble natures yielded to them ; perverse natures converted them into a scheme of government, and into ferocity of spirit.

#### VIII.

Thence was born in France, not the republican party, which shrank with horror from such theories, but the conventionalist and terrorist party, which had for its watchword the Convention, and for its ideal, Terror.

This party allowed these ideas to transpire in its writings, in its journals, and its public discourses ; it unveiled them and commented upon them still more bitterly in some of its conventicles and subterranean associations. There, the names of revolution and republic were not used, as in the councils of true republicans, as synonyms of liberty, equality, and the morality of the citizens under a government of reason and equal rights ; revolution and republic there signified the violent triumph of a portion of the people over the whole nation ; the avenging rule of a single class over the other classes ; tyranny from beneath, substituted for tyranny from above ; despotism, for law ; resentment, for justice ; the axe, for government.

This party had for its army, besides its enrolled and fanatical disciples in certain sections, all that ignorant, floating and unsettled portion of the vagrant population of great capitals ; a population which rises when society is seething, and covers immediately the surface of the streets and public squares with its misery, its rags, and its agitations. It was the fault of the old society to leave these suffering dregs of the population of cities without light, organization, or well-being. Great vices spring up from misery. Everything which stagnates becomes corrupt. Crime is a miasma of indigence and brutality. The

republic was made to enlighten, to heal, and ameliorate these masses.

Such was the army of this party. It had for its standard the red flag.

Vanquished during the evening, in the last convulsions of the Hôtel de Ville, by the resolution of the provisional government, by the energetic coöperation of Lamartine, and by his speeches, the terrorist party had retired, silenced, but not resigned. It abstained, for the moment, from disputing the empire with the government, installed by the twofold acclamation of the Chamber of Deputies and of the place de Grève. It had no names to oppose to those popular ones of Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Ledru Rollin, Marie, Crémieux, and Lamartine, — some illustrious from their parliamentary debates, others in the career of letters, — the latter in silence, the former in the forum, — some from all these celebrities at once, others from public virtue, that renown of conscience, the highest source of popularity. Obscure names, or those only known in the vicinity of their sections, would have caused astonishment, hesitation, and perhaps fear, in the departments. The republic would have drawn back with incredulity at the first step. There was need of sureties and god-fathers for this new government, to give credit to its reality and confidence to its word.

The terrorist party was forced, in spite of itself, to feel this truth. It had a strong ambition to usurp the power. It desired it for itself alone. It admitted neither peace, nor concord, nor toleration, for the National Guard, the *bourgeoisie*, the departments, the clergy, or for property, either great or small, all which it called aristocracy. Its premeditated administration was only a universal ostracism. But it felt conscious of the horror which it would inspire in France, should it present itself in open day. It resolved to force itself upon France without declaring its name, by showing its forces in the morning, by exercising over the capital the fascination of terror, over the provisional government the pressure of its arms; by intimidating its members or overthrowing them; by introducing some of its chiefs into the bosom of the government, and by forcing the republic to take, from the first day, the red flag, in token of its acceptance of their opinions and its acquiescence in their rule.

The agents of this party came to an understanding during the night, and spread themselves before the dawn through all the conventicles of the conspirators, and resorts of vice, in the quarters of indigence and ignorance, to raise and recruit the

elements of a second revolutionary wave, which should sweep away what the first national billow had respected, and demolish what the moderation of the people had established.

### IX.

They succeeded only too well. The general fermentation served their designs. All the sound and corrupt elements of the people were moved to their foundation, and confounded in the seething of events. It was easy to give them a new impulse, and finally to direct at its pleasure a vast sedition, wise and audacious in its leaders, but blind and involuntary in its masses. They could, under the pretext of completing the revolution, induce the people to pass beyond it and destroy it. Such was the hope of the terrorists.

There are always two classes of people in the population ; or, rather, whatever may be the equality in rights, there is always an inequality in manners and instincts. The most virtuous man has in his nature certain elements of vice, and even certain possibilities of crime, which he subdues and destroys by his virtue. Humanity is made like man. It is only man, multiplied by millions. Crime is an element of humanity. It is found in fatal proportions in every large collection of the people. It is for this that laws and public forces are established.

It was this vicious portion of the people, ferocious and criminal in its instincts, that the terrorist party called that day in aid of its theories. It presented to them the humiliation of all the classes in easy circumstances, as a vengeance ; disorder, as a reign ; society, as a prey ; the destruction of property, as a hope ; the supremacy of one class over every other, as the only true democracy ; confiscation and proscription, as their lawful arms ; a convention, ruled by the demagogues of Paris, as the republic ; tribunes, for legislators ; executioners, for leaders ; the revolutionary axe, as the final argument and only conscience of the victorious people.

### X.

Men who thus understood a republic were rare. They were, for the most part, young conspirators, pallid from their vigils in the secret societies, and extolled in the nocturnal conventicles ; without shame and without responsibility in these meetings, where all is feverish excitement ; poisoned from their childhood by those gospels of terror, where Danton and Saint-Just are deified, — the one for his audacity in murder, the other

for his coolness in immolation: men soured by the isolation of their opinions; some tempted by the desire to imitate those outrages which they consider great, since they are rare; others, parodists of the drama of the first revolution, plagiarists of the scaffold, ambitious of a name in history, at whatever sacrifice of conscience renown was to be purchased; jealous of the notoriety of crime; men whom the immortality of Marat and Babeuf deprived of sleep. They had understood, for many years, their opinions and their writings, whence evil thoughts had been infused into their souls; and if a revolution should afford them an opportunity for their perverseness, they would not hesitate at any act, as they would not stay before any opinion, or before any censure of the human race. They were the sophists of the scaffold, kindling their dying passions to induce the commission of outrages even after their death, and to make victims in place of citizens.

These men could recruit their forces only from the deep and mephitic mud of the population of great capitals. Crime only ferments in those agglomerations of idleness, debauchery, voluntary misery and vice; the immorality removed from open day, where the discipline and labor of society does not penetrate.

The mass of the laborious and settled population of Paris had made vast progress, since fifty years, in education, civilization, and practical virtue. Equality had ennobled, industry had enriched them. Contact with the different classes, that were formerly called *bourgeoisie*, had polished and softened their opinions, their language and manners. Education becoming generally diffused, economy established as an institution by the savings-banks, books multiplied, journals, fraternal or religious associations, competence which affords leisure, leisure which allows reflection, had fortunately transformed them. The well understood community of interests between this people and the bourgeoisie with whom they mingled, had given them in common the same ideas. The vast quantity of common sense which was diffused, by every means, among the workmen of Paris, fortified them in advance against the seductions and dominion of the terrorists. The reminiscences of the terror, the punishments, the proscription, the confiscations, the forced loans, and the maximums of the first revolution, become familiar, by the report of history, to all classes of the nation, inspired no less horror among the poor than among the rich. Conscience is sometimes more just in the masses than in the more elevated classes of society, since conscience is almost the



only moral organ that they exercise. Sophistry is only for the use of the learned ; nature does not recognize it. Between the people and the excesses to which they desired to lead them, stood their conscience and their memory. Half a century is the half of the life of man ; but it is so short an interval in the life of a nation, that 1848 appeared, in reality, but the morrow of 1793 ; and in regarding the pavement of their streets, the people trembled lest they should set their feet in the marks of blood of their first republic.

The terrorists of 1848, in order to obtain control of the second republic, could only appeal to the two elements which are always found in a city of five hundred thousand souls, in a state of sedition, crime and error.

The party of freed convicts, abject in their manners, stagnating in vice, allured by crime, constantly leaving and returning to the prisons, as in a fatal transition from crime to punishment ; men vomited from jails, and polluted by familiarity with dungeons ; those who live in Paris by the chances of the day, by the snares which they lay, by the shameful traffic which they exercise in a corrupted capital ; those whose bad reputation obliges them to conceal their life among the crowd ; those who, having lost the regular means of livelihood, and not wishing to acquire them by labor, array themselves in hatred and war against all discipline and all society ; those who, reversing in themselves all the principles of human morality, make of vice a profession, and of crime a glory ; those, in fine, who are themselves the personification of the constant whirl of dissipation, of the unceasing breath of agitation, of the luxury of chaos and the thirst of blood.

All of these men, whom we should blush to call by the same name with the people, form a mass of about twenty thousand vagrants, ready for every work of destruction ; living unseen in tranquil times, coming from the shade, and covering the streets, in days of civil commotion. A signal of the chief, a nocturnal appeal from their accomplices, suffice to rally them in a moment.

They were already rallied and on foot, at the sound of the firing of muskets and at the crumbling of government during the past three days. It was the bands of this army who were, at this time, the incendiaries at Puteaux and Neuilly, who laid waste and pillaged the residence of the king, and the country-seat of the Rothschild family, at the very moment when that family sent an immense voluntary subsidy to the wounded and

starving workmen. It was they who sacked the Tuileries, preserved, with difficulty, by the true combatants. The people had, with energy, thrown them from their bosom, and many paid with their lives for their rapacity. Repulsed with indignation by the people of the revolution, they had plunged again into their filth; one had only to stir it, to make them reappear.

The other element which the terrorist party had equally at its disposal, and which it could conduct, by deceiving it, to the assault of a new power, was not, as we have seen, the misled workmen, enrolled and disciplined under the different chiefs of the socialist schools — these were honestly and heroically opposed to all violence and disorder; but those who belonged to the brutal, ignorant, and perverse party of the communists, that is to say, the destroyers, the ravagers, and barbarians of society. All their theories were limited to feeling their sufferings, and to transforming them into enjoyments by making an invasion upon property, industry, land, capital and commerce, and by distributing their spoils, as the lawful conquest of a starving republic over a dispossessed bourgeoisie, without troubling themselves as to the future legislation of such an organized havoc.

These two elements, the one criminal, the other blind, naturally united and coalesced, without premeditation, under the hands of active leaders. The same thought rallied them to the same movement, though from different instincts, to overthrow, in the provisional government, the barrier which had just been erected against their excesses, or to force that government to serve as the docile instrument of their tyranny. They picked up a third element of number and violence in the indigent people of the precincts of Paris and the faubourgs, collected during the evening at the sound of cannon, and assembled in countless masses, by torch-light, on the vast place de Bastille, that Mount Aventine of revolutions, the point of departure of the great streets which lead to all the thoroughfares of Paris.

Upon this square, till midnight, armed groups were electrified by their own numbers, their oscillations, and by those murmurs which proceed from such great masses collected together, and which augment tenfold their strength, as the waves which rise from the sea increase the force of the winds. These groups had no malevolent intention against society; on the contrary, they had descended, ready armed, to defend the hearths of the citizens of Paris against the return of the troops, who, they were told, menaced the capital with the vengeance of the king.

But the more formidable appeared to them this return of royalty and the army, the more dear to them was the accomplished revolution; the more, also, were they alarmed and indignant at the dangers of feebleness or treason, which this revolution appeared to them to risk. Distorted news from the Chamber of Deputies and the Hôtel de Ville circulated among them. They interrogated one another respecting the worth of the names which composed the government. These names thus passed from mouth to mouth, and from orator to orator, through a stormy examination. Dupont de l'Eure was approved for his constancy and virtue, but reproached for his old age. They refused to believe that, at the age of eighty-two, a man could have, upon the brink of his political life, the power of will and resistance sufficient to give to his country the weight and energy of which a revolutionary government has need. This old man, however, has wonderfully given the lie to time.

The name of Arago was saluted with unanimous acclamations. He carried with him the twofold prestige which fascinates an intelligent people; science, a kind of divine right, against which the masses do not contend in France; and the reputation of an honorable man, which makes all foreheads bow.

Ledru Rollin gave them brilliant pledges by his character of tribune of the militant democracy, which he had taken in parliament, the banquets, and the radical journal *La Réforme*. His age, his revolutionary zeal, ruled by an eloquent intelligence, his figure, his attitude, his gesture, were the personification of a democracy after their own hearts; all this gave to the name of Ledru Rollin a kind of inviolability. If they did not accept him as a statesman, they recognized him as their persevering accomplice in revolutionary conquests. They admired him as their tribune.

The names of Marie and Crémieux only presented to them reminiscences of opposition, integrity, and talent, in the double arena of the bar and the parliament; they hesitated to consider them sufficiently republican.

The name of Lamartine inspired them, at once, with more favor and more dislike. They fluctuated, with regard to him, between attraction and repulsion. He was liberal, but he was blemished with the stain of aristocratic origin; he was in the opposition since 1830, but he had served the restoration in his youth, and he had never insulted it since its fall. He had professed, in "*les Girondins*," a theoretical admiration for the regular accession of the people to all their lawful rights; but

he had repudiated, both at the tribune and in his books, the demagogue spirit and the organization of labor. He had been impartial and just towards the great thoughts of the first actors of the revolution, but he had pitilessly pointed out their slightest excesses, and branded, without excuse, all their crimes. Such a name must have been violently discussed among the ultra and suspicious groups of the people. "Why does this man come among us?" said some: "to deceive us?"—"No," replied others; "he has the conscience of honor. He will not devote a name, already celebrated, to the disdain of posterity."—"But he is of the blood of our enemies;—but he will have relations to keep with the classes of nobility, with the rich *bourgeois* proprietors, like himself;—but he has an inborn horror of what these aristocrats call anarchy;—but he has defended the representative constitution and the peace, under the last reign. He has, without doubt, a feeling for the national dignity; but he will make agreements with foreign cabinets, and compositions with thrones. These are not the kind of men we need. The people should have, in revolutions, accomplices, and not moderators; men who partake all their passions, and not men who restrain them. To control a revolution is to betray it! Let us defy such masters. Let us not be deprived a second time of the blood of the revolution at the Hôtel de Ville. Let us remember Lafayette! Let us beware, lest Lamartine become a republican Lafayette. If he wishes to be with us, let him be our hostage. Let us force him to serve us as we wish, and not as he desires! Or let us replace these names by others taken from ourselves. Or let us join to them men who will represent us in their councils, and who will answer to us with their lives! Let us stand ourselves behind them, with arms in our hands, and let us not permit them to deliberate but in the presence of the delegates of the people, in order that each of their decrees may be really a vote of the people, and that the axe of the people may be constantly visible, suspended over the heads of those, who, in governing the revolution, may have the desire to moderate it, and the perfidy to betray it."

## XII.

These propositions, actually presented in the groups of the Bastille, were applauded and voted with acclamation, by tumultuous ballots. Men more animated, eloquent, and remark-



able than the rest, were designated, to the number of fourteen, to assist, in the name of the people, at the deliberations of the provisional government. They came to the Hôtel de Ville. They were decorating themselves for some moments with the insignia of their mission. They wished to be recognized in their titles and attributes by the members of the government. Their voices were lost in the midst of the tumult of different motions, which incessantly resounded round the council-board. The government wholly protested against this tyrannical pretension of taking away all liberty and dignity from its deliberations, by obliging it to deliberate under any other influence than that of its conscience and its patriotism. These delegates, at whose head was Drevet, a discreet and able man, were themselves overwhelmed by the murmurs of reprobation, which arose on every side against them, from the first groups, who had already, through sympathy, surrounded the government. Arago, Ledru Rollin, Crémieux, and Marie harangued them.

Lamartine himself gained their confidence by his frankness. "Either do not take me, or take me free," said he, pressing their hands. "The people is the master of its own confidence, but I am the master of my conscience. Let them depose me, if they will; but I will not lower myself by flattering or betraying them."

These men, of whom the youngest was crushed during the night, when heroically opposing one of the invasions of the people in the Hôtel de Ville, remained some time confounded among the crowd of assistants. Afterwards they received commissions from the government itself. They were among the number of its most devoted auxiliaries, and rendered useful services to order and the republic.

### XIII.

In the mean time, the day had dawned. The confused army, composed of the three elements we have just described, and which the chiefs of the terrorist and communist party had rallied during the night, began to descend by small bands, and agglomerate in compact masses upon the square and quays of the Hôtel de Ville, as far as the Bastille.

The different centres, around which these groups, at first scattered, collected, were formed of from fifteen to twenty men, young, but yet mature, and who appeared invested with a cer-

tain habitual or moral authority over them. Their costume was that intermediate between the *bourgeoisie* and the people. Their countenance was grave, their complexion pale, their look concentrated, and their attitude martial. Resolute and disciplined, they appeared like so many advanced posts, waiting before the action, until the army, to which they served as guides, should surround them. One of the principal men of each of these revolutionary groups carried a red flag, fabricated in haste during the night, from all the pieces of cloth of that color which they had obtained from the shops in the neighboring streets. The secondary chiefs had red bracelets and belts. All wore, at least, a red ribbon in the button-hole of their coats.

As soon as the bands, armed with weapons of every kind, with muskets, pistols, swords, pikes, bayonets, and daggers, arrived upon the square, men, stationed for the purpose, unrolled, tore in pieces, distributed and threw to these thousands of extended hands, strips of scarlet, which the rioters hastened to fasten to their vests, their blue linen shirts, and their hats. In a moment the red color, like so many sparks, darting from hand to hand, and from breast to breast, ran over the entire circuit of the quay, the streets and the place de Grève, and dazzled or terrified the spectators stationed at the windows of the Hôtel de Ville.

Some groups of workmen, not initiated in the movement, and running from the distant quarters to offer their arms to the republic, debouched, from time to time, from the bridges and the quays, marching under the tri-colored banner, with cries of *Vive le gouvernement provisoire!* Astonished at the change of standards, they sank slowly into the crowd, to approach the steps of the palace. Hardly had they proceeded a few steps, when they were surrounded, crowded, provoked, and sometimes insulted, by the groups of terrorists. They imputed shame to those colors which had borne the liberty, name and glory of France. They presented them with another standard. Some accepted it from astonishment, and the spirit of imitation. Others hesitated, and lowered it.

Some groups defended it against the insults of the red bands. These flags were seen, in turn, beaten down or elevated, with gestures and cries of fury and reciprocal indignation, to float in rags, or gradually disappear over the heads of the multitude. They disappeared also from the windows and roofs of the houses in front. They were replaced by the sinister color of

the victorious faction. Some armed bands, breaking through the gates, and climbing to the summit of the portal, set up the red flag in the place of the tri-colored banner in the hands of the statue of Henry IV. Two or three of these strips of scarlet were waved, by accomplices, or men who were intimidated, from the windows at the angle of the palace. They were saluted by discharges from muskets loaded with ball, which broke the glass, as they rebounded into the halls.

The few members of the government who had passed the night at the Hôtel de Ville had for their defence only a small number of brave citizens, united to them by the instinct of devotion, and by the attraction which danger has for noble hearts. Some calm, active and intrepid pupils of the Polytechnic School, and the School of Saint Cyr, together with the confused and unknown mass of the combatants of the evening, were stretched, with arms at their sides, on the pavement of the courts, and on the steps of the staircases. But in spite of the efforts of Colonels Rey, Lagrange, and some other chiefs of the combatants, who had been appointed or had installed themselves in the different commands of the palace of the people, these assailants of the evening, become the defenders of the morning, could resist, neither with hand nor heart, this second billow of the revolution, coming to crowd back and submerge the first. There were on both sides the same men, the same costumes, the same language, the same cries; companions of the barricades of the night, meeting, not to fight, but to unite and mutually congratulate each other upon the events of the morning. The feeble post of National Guards, drowned in this ocean of armed men, was now composed of only two or three courageous citizens, whose names deserve the mention of history. They came to offer their bayonets, and demand orders. Lamartine ordered them to withdraw into the interior, waiting until the mayors of Paris, notified by Marrast and Marie, should succeed in assembling and directing some detachments to the succor of the assailed government.

#### XIV.

Hardly had these orders been given, when bands of men, meanly clothed, recruited from the indigent faubourgs and precincts, the most remote at the east and west end of Paris, flowed in with such torrents, such currents, such songs, and such cries, upon the square, that this multitude, already crowded,

undulated under the eye of the spectator, like a sea. Soon, precipitating themselves with all their weight against the gates, they forced them, broke them open, and were engulfed, pell-mell, in the entrances of the edifice. They filled it, in an instant, with the crowd, with tumult and confusion. We cannot estimate at less than from thirty to forty thousand men the multitude who then covered the square, the quays, the entrances of the streets, the gardens, the courts, the staircases, the corridors, and the halls of the Hôtel de Ville.

The entrance of this mass of people, preceded by the principal chiefs, who had recruited them, and who had breathed into them their spirit, and given them their watchwords, was followed by the roaring and dashing of a tide that has broken its dike.

The different trunks of this crowd spread themselves throughout all parts of the edifice, vociferating, gesticulating, and brandishing their arms. They fired, here and there, some shots, from no other impulse but excitement, without other motive than to prove their arms and their intoxication. The bullets struck the ceiling and tore down the entablatures of the windows and the doors. The more numerous mass, who had not been able to enter, sang in chorus the *Marseillaise*, without cessation. The entire square was a sea of faces, pale, or colored with emotion, all turned towards the façade of the palace, with hands raised, and red banners waving over their heads. They imposed, by this sign, upon the government, the symbol and signification of the convulsive republic which they wished to force upon it.

A small number of the pupils of the schools, of devoted men, and of the combatants of the evening, already somewhat disciplined by the conflicts of the night, and by the confidence which the government had reposed in them, by rallying them round it, as the first pretorians of the republic, had withdrawn before this crowd, and had taken refuge on the landings of the staircases, in the narrow corridors, and in the apartments, encumbered by the citizens, and the commotion that preceded the siege of the government. These invincible posts, from the very impossibility of recoiling, on account of the general crowd, and the resistance of the gates and the walls, were in vain crushed by the new armed columns who threw themselves forward to the assault of the government. They opposed a rampart of living bodies to these invasions, incessantly recurring, and constantly repelled.



They heard from the small council-chamber the roaring of the multitude, the clang of the combat, the chorus of the songs, the shouts and vociferations of the people, the crashing of the gates, the breaking of the glass, and the resound of musket-shots. Furious dialogues were commenced between the chiefs and orators of the assailants and the groups who defended the access of the reserved apartments. At each moment more terrible shocks, striking against the vanguard of citizens, who filled the ante-chambers or passages, communicated even to the doors of the council-room, shook them, and overthrew on the flag-stones of the corridors those who were trampled upon by such as preserved their footing.

"Let us speak to this government of men, unknown to us, and suspected by the people," cried the leaders, and repeated the fanatical mob behind them. "Who are they? What are they doing? What kind of a republic do they weave for us? Is it that kind of republic where the rich continue to enjoy and the poor to suffer? where the manufacturer can put us to work by condemning us to wages or to famine? where the capitalist is able to make conditions for the use of his capital, or bury it? Is it that republic which, after having been conquered by our blood, will content itself with washing the pavements, to permit the carriages of the wealthy to roll over them anew, splashing with mud the people's rags? Is it that republic which will overlook the vices of society in the head, and which will punish them in the members? which will have neither judges, nor vengeance, nor scaffolds for traitors? which will be humane at the expense of humanity? which will have relations with tyrants, priests, nobles, bourgeois, and proprietors? and which will bring back to us, under another name, all the abuses, the privileges, and the wickedness of royalty? No, no, no!" added those most exasperated; "these are not men of our race; we have no confidence in those who have not undergone the same privations as ourselves — who do not share the same resentments — who do not speak the same language — who do not dress in the same rags! Let us destroy them, drive them away, and deprive them of their usurped authority, surprised and wrested from us in the night. We wish to make our republic for ourselves; we wish that the government of the people should proceed from the people, — composed of men known to and beloved by them. Down with the flag of royalty, which reminds us of our servitude and its crimes! Hurra for the red flag, the symbol of our freedom!"

## XV.

Thus spoke, in the groups, these orators, who themselves, for the most part, affected the misery and resentments of the people, whose labors and suffering they did not in fact partake. In the same way as antiquity had hired mourners to feign grief and tears, the terrorist party had that day these men, furious from calculation, to feign the hunger, the misery, and resentments of the people. Yet, behind them, the people were recognized, — with their miseries but too real, and their confused aspirations for equality, well-being, and sometimes of envy, — responding to these orators with their looks, their gestures, and their hearts; they applauded their words, brandished their arms, and broke out in suspicions and imprecations against the government.

The calm and well-intentioned republicans endeavored to appease these men: they represented to them, that if the members of the new government had wished to plot treason against the people, and a return to royalty, they would not, during the evening, have proclaimed the republic; that if their names were not, in the eyes of the multitude, sufficient guarantee of their political honesty, their lives were pledges of their fidelity to the revolution, into whose bosom they had freely and courageously thrown themselves. That for the government of a grave and intelligent nation like France, there was need of men skilled in affairs at home and abroad; of men who knew how to speak, to write, to administer, and command, from education and habit; that these had been chosen during the evening by public acclamation, to save the country and the people themselves; that they had set their feet, with intrepidity, in blood, in order to stop the bloodshed: that in a few hours they had done much; that it was necessary to give them time to do yet more, and then to judge of their work.

## XVI.

These words made an impression upon the most reasonable part of the crowd. "Ah! well," said these men, who came from the ranks to press the hands of the friends of order and of the government; "you are right; we cannot govern ourselves; we have not the necessary education to understand men and affairs: let each one have his trade; these men are honorable; they have been in the opposition, and on the side of the people, under the last government. Let them govern us — we desire

it ; but let them govern us as we wish, — in our interest, under our flag, in our presence. Let them tell us what they mean to do with us and for us ; let them set up our colors ; let them surround themselves with us alone ; let them deliberate in the full presence of the people ; let a certain number, chosen from ourselves, assist in all their decrees, and all their opinions, to answer for them to us, and to take from them, not only the temptation, but the possibility, of deceiving us."

The most frantic applause broke forth at these last proposals. Not to violate the government, but to surround it, to rule it, to enslave it, to force from it the change of the revolutionary banner, the measures of '93, proscriptions, confiscations, popular tribunals, the proclamation of the dangers of the country, declaration of war against all thrones ; that extreme rule, in fine, which, to rouse a nation and throw it wholly into the hands of faction, has need of war on the boundaries, and the scaffold in the centre. Add to this programme of the republic of '93, the open struggle of the destitute against the *bourgeoisie*, of wages against capital, of the workman against the manufacturer, and of the consumer against the trader. Such was the purport, violently discussed, of the resolutions, the speeches, and vociferations, which proceeded from the groups of the assailants.

## XVII.

But this spirit was far from being unanimous and without opposers among the crowd of good citizens, which increased every hour at the Hôtel de Ville.

The terrorists and communists inspired horror and fear in the enlightened and courageous republicans, who pressed, since the evening, around a moderating centre of government. These, like the vast majority of the people of Paris, saw in the republic a humane and magnanimous emancipation of all the classes, without oppression for any. They saw in it a reform of justice, an equitable, rational, and progressive amelioration of political, civil, and possessive society. They were far from seeing in it a subversion of property, of family, and of fortunes ; a sacrifice of one or two generations, for the realization of impracticable chimeras, or execrable passions.

They endeavored to bring back to these opinions, to reason and to confidence in the government, the floating and undecided mass of these poor and ignorant men, collected from the faubourgs. These had set up the red flag only because that

color excites men, as well as brutes. They followed the communists, without comprehending them. They vociferated with the terrorists, without having their thirst or impatience for blood. The good workmen, the republicans, the combatants, even the wounded, spoke to these bands, more misled than guilty, with the authority of their opinion, which could not be suspected; and of their blood, which had been shed in the evening, for the same cause. They succeeded in sowing some doubt and indecision among them.

Sometimes these men, melted by the reproaches, the supplications, and the sight of the blood of their companions of the evening, threw themselves into the arms of those who addressed them. They burst into tears, and united with them to preach patience, concord, and moderation. A certain fluctuation was perceived in the masses, as in their minds.

But all the means appeared to have been ably combined, either by chance or by the leaders of the day, to neutralize this power of good example; to excite, even to madness, by all the senses, the irritation of the people, and to lead them on to the most desperate resolutions: the spectacle of their own misery, which, by inspiring them with compassion for themselves, must urge them to vengeance against the rich classes; the intoxication, increased by the smell and reports of gunpowder, as well as by wine; in fine, the sight of blood, which so easily excites the thirst for it.

Nothing appeared, either naturally or from design, to have been omitted to produce this triple effect upon the senses of the multitude. A crowd in rags, without shoes, without hats, clothed in garments torn to shreds, which exposed the nakedness of their limbs, stood in the courts, and strowed, with livid faces, and arms attenuated by want, the steps between the entrance and the courts of the palace. Men intoxicated with brandy reeled here and there upon the staircases; they stammered inarticulate cries, threw themselves headlong upon the rioters, and brandished before them, with the blind and brutal awkwardness of drunkenness, stumps of swords, which were torn from their hands. In fine, from minute to minute, men half-naked, with shirts stained with blood, went through the multitude who opened respectfully before them bearing the bodies of the dead. The arches, the courts, the steps of the great staircase, the *salle Saint-Jean*, were strowed with dead bodies. All the zeal of the physicians, Thierry and Samson, aided by their officers of health, who signalized themselves by



their intrepid humanity, could not succeed in removing and piling up these dead. It is not known whence they came, nor why they brought them thus to this only part of the city, from which they should have been removed from the sight of the people. There was one moment when the physician, Samson, approaching Lamartine, whispered in his ear: "The dead are sinking us. Their bodies at first terrify, but afterwards still more inflame the passions of the multitude. If they continue to bring them to us thus, from all the ambulances and hospitals of Paris, I know not what will become of us."

### XVIII.

But while the men, bearing the dead bodies of their brethren slain in the three combats, carried them solemnly and like a holy burden, we know not by whose order, to the Hôtel de Ville, bands of senseless men and ferocious boys sought here and there for the dead bodies of horses, drowned in the pools of blood. They passed cords around their breasts, and dragged them, with laughter and howling, over the place de Grève, and then threw them into the vault at the foot of the staircase of the palace. Hideous spectacle, which imbrued the thoughts, as well as the feet, of this multitude in blood. As soon as one dead body had been thus deposited, these bands went to seek another. The lower court-yard of the prefecture of Paris was obstructed by these carcasses, and watered with these pools of blood.

Within, the tumult constantly increased. The violence of the factious encountered moral resistance and salutary counsels from the crowd of good citizens, and the magnanimity of the combatants, among whom they had thrown themselves. These simple men, led on by signals and watchwords, whose anarchical and sanguinary meaning they only half comprehended, were astonished at the sight of those wounded in the evening; men stained with powder and in rags, like themselves, who reproached them for their impatience and their fury, and cursed them in the name of the republic, attacked by them on the very morning of its birth. Some resisted these counsels; others yielded, hesitated, or recoiled before the commission of an outrage. All floated, at random, from audacity to repentance, from crime to remorse. Their chiefs could only succeed, by force of declamation, intoxication, exposure of dead bodies,

and musket-shots, in leading them on to successive assaults against the seat of government.

Marie, always impassible ; Garnier Pagès, always devoted ; Crémieux, always attractive in his gestures and eloquence, had been alone there, since the evening, with Lamartine. Flocon struggled below in the square with another mob of many thousand men, who demanded the surrender of Vincennes, and the pillage of that arsenal. Flocon, at the risk of his life, calmed this mass, a long time deaf to his representations. He succeeded in ruling them, being unable to disband them. He marched on Vincennes, distributed only some thousands of muskets, reclosed the gates, confirmed the commandants, reëstablished the counter-signs, and saved its arsenal for the republic, by taking away from anarchy the powder, cannon and arms, which it would have turned against the people themselves.

## XIX.

In the mean time, the chiefs and first ranks of the column of insurgents temporarily penetrated into the narrow and encumbered corridors, where they were stifled by their own masses. They harassed the members of government. They constantly addressed them with the most imperious injunctions.

"We wish an account of the hours that you have already lost, or too well employed, in quieting and putting off the revolution," said these orators, with arms in their hands, sweat upon their brows, foam upon their lips, and menace in their eyes. "We wish the red flag, that standard of victory for us, and of terror for our enemies. We wish that a decree should instantly declare it the only flag of the republic. We wish that the National Guard should be disarmed, and their muskets divided among the people. We wish to reign, in our turn, over that *bourgeoisie*, the accomplice of all monarchies, that sell to it our sweat; over that *bourgeoisie* which makes the most of royalties for its profit, but which does not know how either to inspire or defend them! We wish the immediate declaration of war against all thrones and aristocracies. We wish the country to be declared in danger; the arrest of all the ministers, past and present, of the monarchy, who are now in flight; the trial of the king; the restitution of its property to the nation; terror for traitors; the axe of the people suspended over the head of its eternal enemies. What sort of a revolution, with your fair words, do you wish to make for us? We

must have a revolution signalized with deeds and blood, a revolution which can neither stop in its progress nor retrace its steps. Are you the revolutionists of such a revolution? Are you the republicans of such a republic? No! you are like your accomplices in idle talk, *Girondists* at heart, aristocrats by birth, lawyers of the tribune, *bourgeois* by custom, perhaps traitors! Make room for true revolutionists, or pledge yourselves to them by these measures! Serve us as we wish to be served, or beware!" Thus speaking, some threw their naked swords upon the table, in token that they would not sheathe them till they had been obeyed.

While murmurs and applause replied from hall to hall to these speeches, Garnier Pagès, Marie, Crémieux, and Lamartine, did not allow themselves to be insulted or intimidated by these orators. They looked them in the face, with their arms crossed upon their breasts, calming them by their gestures, fascinating them by the impassibility of their countenance and their attitude. Authority is so necessary to men that its disarmed image alone impresses with involuntary respect even those who brave it. Hardly had these orators spoken, exciting themselves by the frenzy of their gestures and the harshness of their accent, when they seemed to be terrified at what they had said, and to feel horror at their own audacity. Some burst into tears, others fell fainting into the arms of their comrades. Marie spoke to them with austerity, Crémieux with fervor, Garnier Pagès with tenderness; Louis Blanc, who came unexpectedly, aided the government by his credit with the masses. Good citizens, the pupils of the military schools, the mayors of Paris, well known to the people, old republicans, like Marrast and Bastide, pressed their hands, admonished them, and interposed between them and the government. Interviews were established, at intervals, in different parts of the hall. The most violent, moved or melted, ended by allowing themselves to be induced to vacate the first floor. They went back to render an account to the multitude of what they had seen, of what they had said, and of the answers they had received. They repressed, for a moment, the sedition. It was organized elsewhere by the voice of other chiefs, more implacable and more determined. They pushed forward to new assaults, which must end in carrying by storm, or imbruing with blood, the last and narrow asylum which remained to resistance.

The government, thus besieged, would not have had too much, with all its moral forces, to overawe the sedition. But

the sedition itself separated the members present from a part of their colleagues.

Dupont de l'Eure, whose old age would attract respect; Arago, whose manly form and celebrated name added strength to each other; Ledru Rollin, whose name, countenance and eloquence, find sympathy with the destitute, were absent. The two first, overcome by weariness, after their magnanimous efforts of the evening. The third came in the morning, from the office of the interior, to rejoin the centre of government, but, plunged in this ocean of people, who were pressing and crushing at the entrances of the edifice, he found it impossible to reach the floor where the council sat. He had even been imprisoned by the tumult in one of the lower halls, without communication with what was passing above him. He had, finally, withdrawn, to await a more free approach, and to organize without some of the elements of order. Louis Blanc did not yet form a part of the provisional government. They had only admitted him under the title of secretary, the same as Flocon, Albert, Marrast, Pagnerre, to fortify themselves with all the popularity of talent, eloquence, and reaction.

Louis Blanc tried at this moment, for the first time, upon the masses, the power of his name and his eloquence. He exercised it, we must acknowledge, with the design of procuring tranquillity and moderation, less impressed, however, than his colleagues with the danger of yielding the flag of the nation and the ensign of the republic to a party of the insurgents. Louis Blanc believed that this concession would be the signal of concord, and that this portion of the people, satisfied with their victory on this point, would renounce the violent opinions and ill-boding measures which it did not cease to urge upon the government. Favored by his small figure, he constantly descended and ascended from the government to the mob, gliding through the ranks of the terrorists, now haranguing the most excited groups, who were shaken by his voice; now supplicating his colleagues to avoid the last excesses of the multitude, and accept the red flag, if it were only for the moment, and to disarm the people. Musket-shots resounded at intervals, and bullets had just struck against the windows, as the summons and ultimatum of the armed and impatient crowd; these cries of fifty thousand voices, and these musket-shots upon the square, too often gave truth and force to the considerations presented by the young tribune. Louis Blanc was not an accomplice; he wished to be a peace-maker; but the people would not



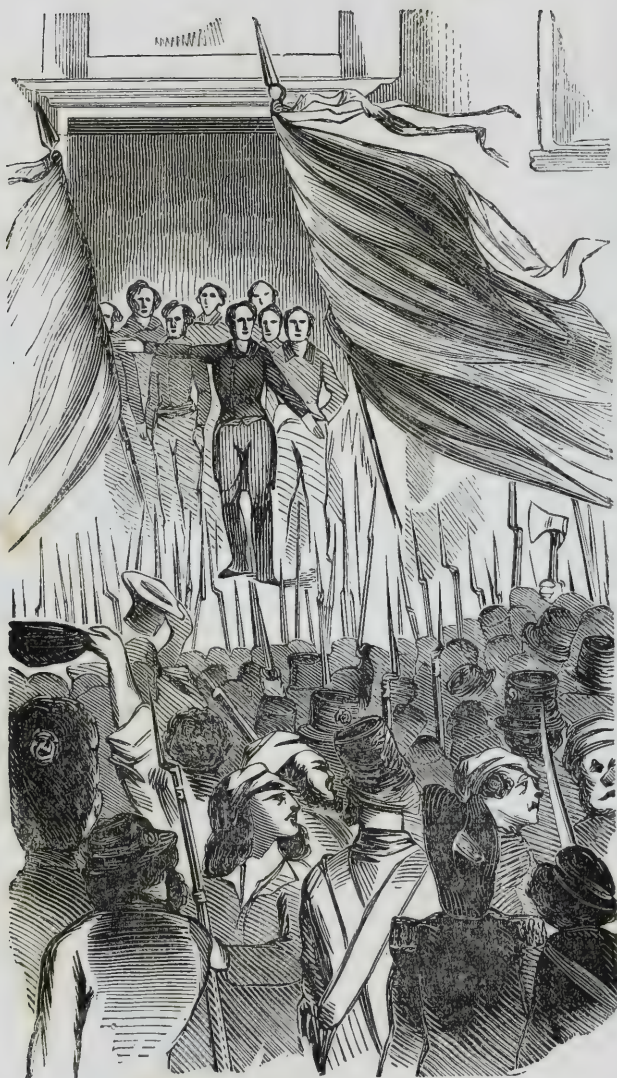
retire, except upon conditions which the government persisted energetically in refusing.

At this time a tumult, with more sinister noise, broke forth in the passages, which prevented, by their crowded state, any access to the seat of government. An assault of the people made the arches tremble, the walls groan, the gates yield, and caused the pupils of the school and the bold combatants to fall over one another, as they opposed the weight of their bodies, and the rampart of their levelled muskets, to this invasion. A mass of people forced by the sentinels, penetrated into the apartment, shouting, and brandishing all kinds of arms, surrounded and pressed upon the government.

These men came, they said, to bring the last summons of the people, and to carry back to them the last word of the revolution. They had chosen for their orator a young workman, who was a mechanic, the Spartacus of this army of the intelligent destitute.

He was a man of from twenty to twenty-five years of age, small, but straight in form; he was strong, and had a firm and manly carriage of his limbs; his face, blackened by the smoke of powder, was pale with emotion; his lips trembled with rage; his eyes, sunk under a prominent brow, flashed fire. The electricity of the people was concentrated in his look. His countenance had, at once, a reflective yet mazy expression; strange contrast, which is found in certain faces, where a mistaken opinion has nevertheless become a sincere conviction, and an obstinate pursuit of the impossible! He rolled in his left hand a strip of ribbon or red stuff. He held in his right hand the barrel of a carbine, the butt-end of which he struck with force upon the floor at every word. He appeared, at once, intimidated and resolute. One could see that he had strengthened himself against all weakness and accommodation, by a firm determination previously taken. He seemed to feel and to hear behind him the vast and furious people, whose organ he was, who listened to him, and who demanded of him an account of his words. He turned his looks in vacancy round the hall; he did not rest them on any face, for fear of meeting another eye, and becoming involuntarily influenced. He swayed his head constantly from left to right, and from right to left, as if he was refuting within himself the objections they would oppose to him. It was the statue of obstinacy;—the last incarnate word of a multitude that felt its power, and that no longer desired to yield to reason.

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LAMARTINE ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE.

He spoke with that rude and brutal eloquence which admits of no reply ; which does not discuss, but which commands. His feverish tongue was glued to his parched lips. He had those terrible hesitations which irritate and redouble, in the uncultivated man, the rage of his suppressed emotion, from his very want of power to articulate his fury. His gestures helped out the meaning of his words. Every one was standing, and in silence, to listen to him.

## XX.

He spoke not as a man, but in the name of the people, who wished to be obeyed, and who did not mean to wait. He prescribed the hours and minutes for the submission of government. He commanded it to perform miracles. He repeated to it, with accents of greater energy, all the conditions of the programme of impossibilities which the tumultuous cries of the people had enjoined it to accept and to realize on the instant :—the overthrow of all known society ; the destruction of property and capitalists ; spoliation ; the immediate installation of the destitute into the community of goods ; the proscription of the bankers, the wealthy, the manufacturers, the *bourgeois* of every condition above the receivers of salaries ; a government, with an axe in its hand, to level all the superiorities of birth, competence, inheritance, and even of labor ; in fine, the acceptance, without reply, and without delay, of the red flag, to signify to society its defeat ; to the people, their victory ; to Paris, terror ; to all foreign governments, invasion : each of these injunctions was supported, by the orator, with a blow of the butt of his musket upon the floor, by frantic applause from those who were behind him, and a salute of shots, fired on the square.

The members of the government, and the small number of ministers and friends who surrounded them, Buchez, Barthélemy St. Hilaire and Payer, listened to these injunctions to the end, without interruption, as one listens to delirium, from fear of aggravating by contradicting it. But this delirium was at this moment that of sixty thousand armed men, masters of everything. There were moments when the government, despairing of the public safety, under the pressure of such a tumult, lowered its head, collected itself, and resolved to die upon the breach, rather than to raise the standard of the distress and terror of society, which it protected with its body.



Crémieux, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Marrast, Buchez, Flottard, and Louis Blanc himself, replied to the injunctions of the orator of the people, with the intrepidity, dignity, force and logic, which the reaction of such violence excites in men of feeling. Others tried to seduce and win, by all the blandishments of language and gesture, the stoical roughness of this man, and the partakers of his passion. All was useless; they closed their ears to the words, and their eyes to the gestures. The instant proclamation of the revolutionary government, and the red flag raised without reflection, was the only answer of these men of iron. The less man is enlightened, the more is he obstinate. He calls in the aid of violence to obtain whatever he cannot acquire by reason. Tyranny is the reason of brutality. When a man can neither convince nor be convinced, he becomes obstinate. Such was the people on that day; such they have since tried to make it again.

## XXI.

Lamartine, standing in the embrasure of a window, looked, in consternation, now on this scene, now upon the heads of the people, who swayed to and fro in the square, while the smoke of the firing, floating over these thousands of faces, formed the halo of glory round the red flag. He saw the efforts of his colleagues powerless against the obstinacy of these envoys of the people.

He was irritated by this insolent defiance of an armed man, who constantly presented his carbine, as a powerful argument, to men who were disarmed, indeed, but who knew how to look death in the face. He broke through the groups which separated him from the orator. He approached this man, and took him by the arm. The man shuddered, and sought to disengage it, as if he feared the fascination of another being. He turned, with a disquietude at once savage and timid, towards his companions, as if to ask them what he should do.

"It is Lamartine," said some of the members of his party.

"Lamartine," cried the orator, with defiance, "what does he want with me? I do not wish to hear him; I wish the people to be obeyed upon the spot; or if not," added he, endeavoring to disengage his arm, "bullets, and no more words. Leave me, Lamartine!" continued he, still moving his arm, to disengage it; "I am a simple man. I do not know how to defend myself by words. I do not know how to answer by

ideas. But I know how to will. I will, what the people have charged me to say here. Do not speak to me! Do not deceive me! Do not lull me to sleep by your eloquence of tongue! Behold a tongue that cuts everything, a tongue of fire!" said he, while striking on the barrel of his carbine. "There shall be no other interpreter between you and us."

Lamartine smiled at this expression of the poor man, still retaining him by the arm. "You speak well," said he. "you speak better than I do; the people has well chosen its interpreter. But it is not enough to speak well; we must listen to the language of reason, which God has bestowed on men of good faith and good will, that they might be able to explain themselves to one another, to aid, instead of destroying each other. A sincere speech is peace among men. Obstinate silence is war. Do you wish for war and blood? We accept it; our heads are devoted; but then, how the war and blood will fall back upon those who have not wished to listen to us!" — "Yes! yes! Lamartine is right! Listen to Lamartine!" cried his comrades.

## XXII.

Lamartine then spoke to this man with that accent of persuasive sincerity which he felt in his heart, and which the seriousness of the time rendered deeper and more religious. He represented to him that revolutions were great battles, where the conquerors had more need of chiefs after the victory than during the combat; that the people, however sublime it was in action, and however respectable it was in the opinion of the statesman, had, in the tumult of the public square, neither the coolness, nor the moderation, nor the light, requisite to save itself, by its own unaided exertions, from the dangers of its own triumph; that the action of government, at home and abroad, did not consist in shouting this or that unreflected revolution, with arms in hand, at the will of this or that popular orator, nor in writing with the point of the bayonet arbitrary, violent, and often unjust decrees upon a table of conspirators; that it was necessary to think, to weigh, to appreciate, in liberty, in conscience, and with silence, the rights, the interests, and the desires, of a nation of nearly forty millions of men, all having equal title to the justice and protection of a government; that it was necessary, besides, to know that Paris was not all France, nor France all Europe; that the safety of the people consisted in balancing these great interests,

one against the other, and to do justice to the suffering portion of the people, without doing injustice and violence to other citizens and other nations ; that a people who had neither the patience nor the confidence in their chiefs to await prosperity would become a slaughtered people ; that it would be to plunge into disorder and anarchy the most fruitful revolutions ; that the chiefs who lowered themselves to be only the instruments of the changing will and tumultuous impulses of the multitude would be beneath the multitude itself, for, without being subject to its madness, they would execute its madness and its fury ; that such a government, at the nod and beck of the crowd, would be equally unworthy of the nation and the devoted men who had interposed between it and anarchy ; that if the people wished such servants, they had only to enter and strike them ; for these men had resolved to do everything for the people, except to accomplish their ruin and dishonor. Lamartine, in fine, refused, in a few words spoken in the name of the government, to raise the red flag, and thus dishonor the past of the revolution and of France.

### XXIII.

While Lamartine was speaking, there was seen struggling on the savage countenance of the orator of the destitute classes the intelligence with which it seemed to be enlightened in spite of itself, and the obstinacy of a brutal will, with which it appeared to be overcast. At last, intelligence and feeling prevailed. He let his carbine fall upon the ground, and burst into tears. They surrounded him, they felt compassion for him ; his comrades, yet more moved than he, withdrew him in their arms out of the precincts. They caused the column, of which they were the head and the voice, to flow back into the court-yards, signifying to the people, by their cries and gestures, the good words of the government, and the good resolutions which they themselves had formed. A sensation of hesitation and repentance was felt in the palace and at the gates—the government breathed.

### XXIV.

But no sooner did the leaders of the people perceive the moral shock communicated to the masses by the return of this column upon the place de Grève, than they sowed anew among the crowd impatience and fury at their deceived designs. They

called those traitors and cowards who had descended without having obtained the red flag, and the government of the destitute classes, with the tool for a sceptre, and the sword in its hand. Uproar, heavier, more rumbling, and more sinister than before, rose from these waves of the people to the windows of the palace. Soon these compact masses, waving their flags, broke like crumbling walls, and new currents of armed men were seen forming and flowing slowly, as they plunged with loud cries through all the entrances, and under all the gates of the edifice. The crushing alone prevented them from throwing themselves upon the upper stories, with the force of the impulse which urged them to the conquest of the government.

However, the heads of these columns arrived at the great landing places of the courts, and as far as the middle of the staircases, becoming somewhat enlightened and softened by the influence of good citizens. Some irresistible groups penetrated even into the ante-chambers of the apartments.

At each moment news of distress was brought by the pupils of the military schools, who braved everything. They came to beseech the men who had the most influence over the people to allay the last extremities of violence by showing themselves. Marie and Crémieux went out in turn, with intrepidity; the ministers, such as Goudchaux, Bethmont, Carnot, joined them, and devoted citizens surrounded them, to protect them with their persons and their popularity. They obtained some moments of respect, and returned worn out and vanquished by the tumult.

Five times Lamartine went out, spoke, was heard with applause, and caused the multitude to flow back a little. He waved before him the tri-colored banner, sprung, said he, from the revolution, the contemporary of liberty, and consecrated by the blood of our triumphs. His garments were torn, his head uncovered, his forehead streaming with sweat. Enthusiasm and insult, in almost equal proportions, were excited at his approach. They refused for a long time to listen to him. Vehement apostrophes nailed his first words to his lips; then, hardly had he pronounced a few sentences, inspired by the genius of the place, the hour, and the last extremity to which the country was reduced, when those nearest approached to him, passed over to his side, gave him their souls and their arms, and echoing his voice with their hearts and voices, drowned his speech with plaudits, which were prolonged by



passing from hall to hall, and from distance to distance ; they ended by breaking into tears, and throwing themselves into his arms. Never was better seen than during these hours how much intelligence, electricity, generosity, enthusiasm, and love, is contained in this people, who need only a kind word to pass wholly, even in sedition, to the most sublime sentiments of humanity.

## XXV.

But these victories of sympathy and eloquence were short ; they were propagated slowly and imperfectly in this noisy crowd of from sixty to eighty thousand men ; they appeared to evaporate with the last echoes of the voice of the orator. Often he had hardly retired when he heard new murmurs sounding at the foot of the staircases, and shots fired in the courts, making whistle above his head the bullets, which broke off the stones from the arches of the staircases.

Each hour of the day, as it advanced, brought new reinforcements from the precincts of the city, and the faubourgs, to the insurgents. Towards noon the place de Grève, the windows and roofs of the houses which surround it, were choked with the crowd, and appeared hung with red. A more decisive movement was made at the entrances and the lower parts of the building. They cried, To arms ! Some intrepid citizens wished to oppose the more desperate invasion of the people ; they were thrown down upon the staircases, and trampled under foot. The torrent mounted, and flowed under the gothic arches which stand before the immense hall of the republic, strowed with the bodies of the dying. "Lamartine ! Lamartine !" cried the citizens from the end of the corridors, where they were crowded back by the people ; "he alone can attempt to stay the deluge, — the people will listen only to him ; — let him appear, or all is lost !"

Lamartine, overwhelmed by eighteen hours of physical efforts, and stretched on the floor, arose at these cries, and went out, accompanied by Payer, Jumelle, and Maréchal, young and intrepid pupils of Saint Cyr, and by a group of generous youths of the Polytechnic School, and a few citizens, who protected him with their bodies. He passed through the corridors ; he advanced as far as the landing of the staircase ; he descended the steps, bristling on both sides with swords, lances, daggers, musket-barrels and pistols, brar dishd over his head by excited

and sometimes intoxicated hands; borne, and, as it were, swimming over the very waves of sedition, he thus came upon the steps which open upon the square. He showed himself; he spoke: his form, which the people beheld with curiosity, his gestures, his frank and open countenance, even more than his words, which were often drowned in the tumult, roused prolonged acclamations from the multitude. Some red flags were lowered—some tri-colored banners appeared at the windows.

He remounted the staircase, followed by the echo of this applause from the square, which seemed to protect him, and, so to speak, consecrate him, against the bullets and daggers of the groups within. "Traitor!" cried some men, with sinister looks and clothed in rags, upon the last step.

Lamartine stopped, opened his dress, pointing in gesture to his breast, looked the insurgents in the face with a smile of compassion. "Are we traitors?" said he; "strike, if you believe it! But you who say it do not believe it; for before betraying you we must betray ourselves. Who is it that here risks the most, you or we? We have pledged you our names, our memory, and our lives, and you only stake the mud upon your shoes; for it is not your name that has countersigned the republic; and if the republic falls, it is not upon you that the vengeance of its enemies will fall!" These words, and this gesture, struck the feelings and the reason of the people; they opened for him to pass, and gave him applause.

Reëntering the hall of the wounded, Lamartine met a woman, still young, and all in tears, who came to him and called him the saviour of all. Her husband, stretched upon a mattress in a corner of the hall, appeared to be dying from weariness and disease. It was Flocon, brought back dying from Vincennes, some hours before, after having quieted the faubourg Saint Antoine, and saved our arsenals. Lamartine pressed his hand, and thanked him for his devotion and his courage. This friendship, between the republican of a whole life and the republican of a day, was formed, so to speak, upon the battle-field.

## XXVI.

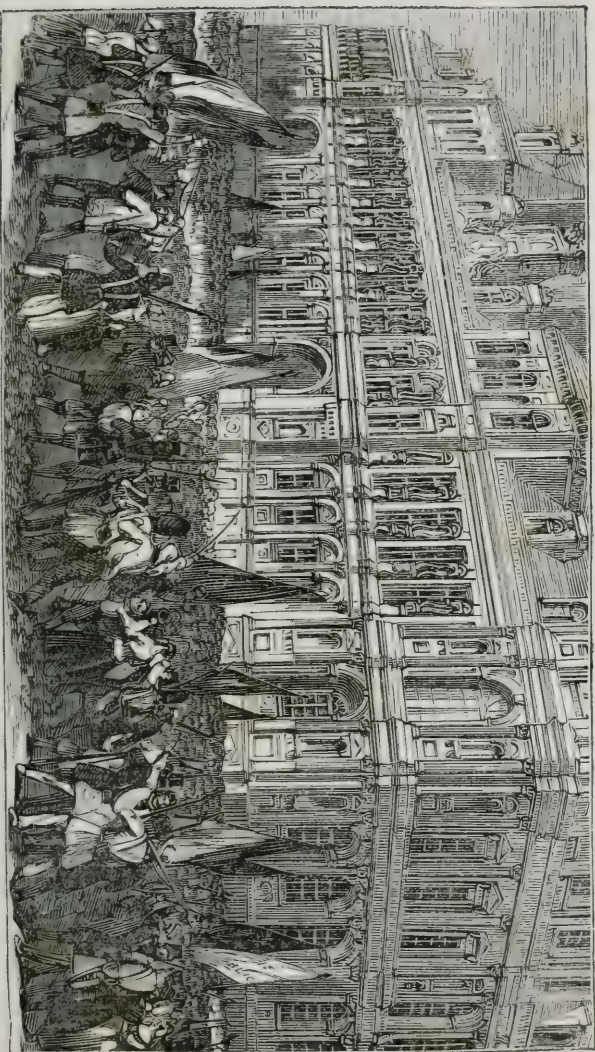
But these triumphs of good citizens were only momentary truces. Despair at their weakness, the vain expectation of a result which always deceived them, the shame of retiring without having obtained anything—hunger, thirst, cold, the icy water and the mud in which they had been standing since the

morning, raised, every quarter of an hour, new waves over these seas of men. The chiefs had seen the sun rise, and the day pass away; they did not wish that it should go down upon their defeat. A furious horde of about four or five thousand men, appearing to have come from the most remote and indigent faubourgs of Paris, mingled with some groups better clothed and better armed, broke through, at about two o'clock, the balustrades of all the courts of the hotel, inundated the halls, and rushed, with cries of death, clash of arms, and shots fired at random, as far as a kind of elevated portico, in the middle of a narrow staircase, upon which terminate the passages which protected on this side the asylum of the government.

Lagrange, with dishevelled hair, and two pistols at his girdle, with excited gestures, subduing the crowd by his lofty figure, and the tumult by his voice, that resembled the roaring of the masses, was striving in vain, in the midst of his friends of the evening and those who had gone beyond him in the morning, at once to satisfy and restrain the zeal of this crowd, intoxicated with enthusiasm, victory, impatience, suspicion, tumult, and wine. The almost inarticulate voice of Lagrange as much excited frenzy by its tone as it desired to appease it by its meaning. Tossed about, like the mast of a vessel, from group to group, he was borne from the staircase to the passage, from the door to the windows. With extended arms and salutations of the head, he cried from above to the multitude in the courts, with supplicating speeches, which were carried away by the winds, or drowned by the howling in the lower stories, and the noise of the firing. A weak door, which could hardly allow two men to pass abreast, served as a dike against the crowd, arrested by their own weight. Lamartine, raised on the arms and shoulders of some good citizens, rushed to it. He broke it open, preceded only by his name, and found himself again alone, struggling with the most tumultuous and foaming waves of the sedition.

In vain the men nearest to him cried out his name to the multitude—in vain they raised him at times upon their entwined arms, to show his form to the people, and to obtain silence, if it were only from curiosity. The fluctuation of this crowd, the cries, the shocks, the resounding of the strokes of muskets against the walls, the voice of Lagrange, interrupting with hoarse sentences the brief silence of the multitude, rendered all attitude and speech impossible. Engulfed, stifled, and crowded back against the door, which was closed behind him, it only remained for Lamartine to allow the deaf and blind





LAMARTINE ADDRESSING THE POPULACE AT THE HOTEL DE VILLE.



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irruption to pass over his body, with the red flag, which the insurgents raised above their heads, as a standard, victorious over the vanquished government.

At last some devoted men succeeded in bringing to him a broken straw-covered chair, upon which he mounted, as it were upon a tottering tribune, which was supported by the hands of his friends. From his appearance, from the calmness of his figure, which he strove to render so much the more impassible as he had the more passions to restrain, from his patient gestures, from the cries of the good citizens imploring silence that he might be heard, the crowd, with whom a new spectacle always commands attention, began to group themselves into an audience, and to quiet by degrees their noise.

Lamartine began many times to speak, but at each fortunate attempt to subdue this tumult by his look, his arm and his voice, the voice of Lagrange haranguing on his side another portion of the people from the windows, raised again in the hall the guttural cries, fragments of discourse, and roaring of the crowd, which drowned the words and action of Lamartine, and caused the sedition to triumph by confusion. They finally calmed Lagrange, and drew him from his tribune. He went to carry persuasion to other parts of the edifice; and Lamartine, whose resolution increased with the danger, could finally make himself heard by his friends and his enemies.

## XXVII.

He first calmed this people by an eloquent hymn upon the victory so sudden, so complete, so un hoped for even by republicans the most desirous of liberty. He called God and men to witness the admirable moderation and religious humanity which the mass of this people had shown, even in combat and in triumph. He roused again that sublime instinct which had, during the evening, thrown this people, still armed, but already obedient and disciplined, into the arms of a few men devoted to calumny, to weariness and death, for the safety of all.

At these pictures the crowd began to admire themselves, and to shed tears over the virtues of the people. Enthusiasm soon raised them above their suspicions, their vengeance, and their anarchy.

"Citizens, see what the sun of yesterday beheld!" continued Lamartine. "And what will the sun of to-day witness? It will see another people, so much the more furious as it

has fewer enemies to combat, defying the very men whom yesterday they had raised above them; constraining them in their liberty, humbling them in their dignity, despising them in their authority, which is only your own; substituting a revolution of vengeance and punishment for one of unanimity and fraternity, and commanding their government to raise, in token of concord, the standard of deadly combat between citizens of a common country!—that red banner, which they have sometimes been able to raise when blood was flowing, as a terror to their enemies, but which they ought to lower immediately after the combat, in sign of reconciliation and peace! I should prefer the black flag, which sometimes, in a besieged city, floats like a winding-sheet, to designate to the bomb the neutral edifices consecrated to humanity, and which even the bullet and the shell of the enemy must spare. Do you wish, then, that the banner of your republic should be more menacing and sinister than that of a bombarded town?"

"No, no!" cried some of the spectators; "Lamartine is right; let us not preserve this flag of terror for the citizens!"—"Yes, yes!" cried others; "it is ours, it is that of the people. It is that with which we have conquered. Why, then, should we not preserve, after the victory, the standard which we have stained with our blood?"

"Citizens," resumed Lamartine, after having opposed the change of the banner by all the reasons most striking to the imagination of the people, and, as it were, withdrawing upon his personal conscience for his last argument, thus intimidating the people, who loved him, by the menace of his retreat: "Citizens, you can offer violence to the government; you can command it to change the flag of the nation, and the name of France, if you are so badly counselled, and so obstinate in your error, as to force upon it the republic of a party, and the standard of terror. The government, I know, is as decided as myself, to die rather than to dishonor itself by obeying you. As for me, never shall my hand sign this decree! I will refuse, even to the death, this flag of blood; and you should repudiate it still more than I! for the red flag which you offer us has only made the tour of the Champ de Mars, drawn through the blood of the people in '91 and in '93; while the tri-colored banner has made the circuit of the world, with the name, the glory, and the liberty of the country!"

At these last words, Lamartine, interrupted by almost unan-

imous cries of enthusiasm, fell from the chair which served him as a tribune into the arms stretched towards him from all sides! The cause of the new republic triumphed over the bloody reminiscences which would have been substituted for it. A general impulse, seconded by the gestures of Lamartine and the influence of good citizens, caused the rioters, who filled the hall, to fall back as far as the landing-place of the great staircase, with cries of "*Vive Lamartine! vive le drapeau tricolore!*"

### XXVIII.

But this crowd, carried away by the words it had just heard, there met the head of a new column, which had not been able to penetrate into the interior, nor share in the feeling of the speeches. This band ascended, more animated and more implacable than any of the rioters hitherto restrained or dispersed. A shock had taken place under the porch, and upon the last steps of the stairs, between these two crowds, each of whom wished to draw the other into its own movement, the one for the red flag, the other for the flag regained by the words of Lamartine. Menacing conversations, ardent vociferations, cries of suffocation, two or three shots, fired from the foot of the staircase, shreds of the red flag, and naked weapons brandished over their heads, made this close conflict one of the most sinister scenes of the revolution.

Lamartine threw himself between the parties!

"It is Lamartine! room for Lamartine! hear Lamartine!" cried the citizens who had once heard him. "No, no, no! down with Lamartine! death to Lamartine! No bargaining! no words! the decree! the decree! or *à la lanterne* with the government of traitors!" shrieked the crowd.

These words did not make Lamartine hesitate, recoil, or grow pale.\*

They succeeded in bringing to the landing behind him the broken chair upon which he had mounted just before. He ascended it, supported by the jamb of the great gothic gate, which had been pierced, during the evening and morning, with bullets. At his appearance, the fury of the assailants, instead of being calmed, broke forth in imprecations, clamors, and menacing gestures. Musket-barrels, levelled from a distance upon the steps furthest removed from him, seemed to

\* See the History of these days, by a society of combatants, Captain Dunoier.



aim at the gate. A nearer group of about twenty men, besotted by intoxication, brandished bayonets and drawn swords before them; and, almost touching his feet, eight or ten furious men, sword in hand, threw themselves headlong, as if to force a passage by blows of a battering-ram through the feeble group that surrounded Lamartine. Among the first, two or three appeared out of their senses. Their hands, stained with wine, threw about blindly their naked weapons, which the courageous citizens embraced and took away in bundles, as the mowers raise the sheaves. The brandished points of the swords reached every moment to the height of the person of the orator, whose hand was slightly wounded. The moment was critical,—the triumph undecided. Chance decided it. Lamartine could not be heard, and was unwilling to descend. Hesitation would have lost all. The good citizens were in consternation. Lamartine expected to be overthrown and trampled under the feet of the multitude.

### XXIX.

At this moment, a man stepped forth from a group upon the right. He entered the crowd. He climbed upon the foot of a pillar of the gate, nearly as high as Lamartine, and in sight of the people. It was a man of colossal form, and endowed with a voice strong as the roaring of a tumult. His costume alone would have attracted the regard of the multitude. He wore a surtout of unbleached linen, worn, soiled and torn, like the rags of a beggar's dress. Large trousers, floating to his knee, left his feet bare, without stockings. His long and large hands hung out, with half his meagre arms, from his two short sleeves. His open shirt allowed one to count his ribs and the muscles of his breast.

His eyes were blue, luminous, and swimming in tenderness and goodness. His open countenance breathed enthusiasm, carried even to delirium and tears; but it was the enthusiasm of hope and love,—a true type of the people in their moments of grandeur, at once wretched, terrible, and good.

One of the balls fired from below had just grazed the upper part of his nose, near his eyes. His blood, which he wiped away constantly, flowed in two streams over his cheeks and lips. He did not seem to think of his wound. He stretched his arms out to Lamartine, and invoked him, by look and gesture. He called him the counsellor, the light, the father, the

god of the people. "Let me see him—touch him! let me only kiss his hands!" cried he. "Listen to him," added he, turning to his comrades; "follow his counsels; fall into his arms. Strike me before you injure him. I will die a thousand times to preserve this good citizen to my country."

At these words, rushing to Lamartine, the man embraced him convulsively, covered him with his blood, and held him a long time in his arms. Lamartine offered him his hand and cheek, and was melted by this magnanimous personification of the multitude.

### XXX.

At this spectacle, the astonished and affected multitude were themselves melted. The love of a man of the people, a wounded man, a proletary bathed in blood, displaying, in his naked limbs, all the stains, rags, and wretchedness of indigence, proved to Lamartine, and was in the eyes of the crowd, a visible and undeniable pledge of the confidence they might repose in the designs of this unknown moderator, of the faith they ought to have in the words of the organ of the government. Lamartine, perceiving this impression, and hesitation in the looks and movements of the multitude, took advantage of it to aim a final stroke at the fickle heart of this people. A prolonged tumult rolled at his feet among those who wished to hear him and those who were bent on hearing nothing, still in the presence of the mendicant, who with one hand stanching the blood of the wound in the face, and with the other made signs, to impose silence on the people.

"What! citizens," said he, "if you had been told that in three days you would have overthrown the throne, destroyed the oligarchy, obtained universal suffrage in the name of man, conquered all the rights of citizenship, and finally founded the republic, — that republic, the distant dream of those who felt its name hidden in the innermost recesses of their conscience, like a crime! And what a republic! Not a republic like that of Greece or Rome, embracing aristocrats and plebeians, masters and slaves! — not a republic like the aristocratic republics of modern days, enclosing citizens and proletaries, the great and small in the eyes of the law, a people and a patrician order, — but a republic of equality, in which there is neither aristocracy nor oligarchy, neither great nor little, neither patricians nor plebeians, neither masters nor helots, before the

law; where there is but one single people, composed of the totality of the citizens, and the public right and power are only formed by the right and vote of each individual of whom the nation is formed, united in one collective power, called the government of the republic, and returning in laws, popular institutions and benefits, to the people from which it emanated.

"If you had been told all of this three days ago, you would have refused it credence. Three days! you would have said. It would require three centuries to accomplish such a work for the benefit of humanity." (*Applause.*)

"Well! what you have declared impossible is accomplished. Behold our work, in the midst of these arms, these corpses of our martyrs; — and you murmur against God and us!"

"No, no!" cried many voices.

"Ah!" resumed Lamartine, "you would be unworthy of these efforts, if you did not know how to contemplate and to acknowledge them.

"What do we ask of you, to complete our work? Years? No. Months? No. Weeks? No: days, only. In two or three days more, your victory will be recorded, accepted, assured and organized, in such a manner that no tyranny, except the tyranny of your own impatience, can tear it from your grasp. And would you deny us these days, these hours, this calm, these minutes? And would you strangle the republic, born of your blood, in its cradle?"

"No, no!" cried a hundred voices, anew. "Confidence! confidence! Let us go and encourage and enlighten our brethren. Long live the provisional government. *Vive la République! Vive Lamartine!*"

"Citizens," he continued, "I have just spoken to you as a citizen; now hear me as your minister of foreign affairs. If you take from me the tri-colored flag, mark it well, you take from me half the external strength of France; for Europe knows only the standard of its defeats and our victories. It is the flag of the republic and the empire. On beholding the red flag, they will imagine they see only the banner of a party. It is the flag of France, the flag of our victorious armies, the flag of our triumphs, which we must hoist in the eyes of Europe. France and the tri-colored flag — it is the same idea, the same halo, the same terror, if need be, to our enemies.

"Oh, people, suffering and patient in misery!" resumed he, "who have just shown, by the action of this brave and poor

man, (embracing the mendicant with his right arm,) what disinterestedness there is in your own wounds, and magnanimity and reason in your soul! Yes, let us embrace and love each other; let us fraternize, rank with rank, class with class, opulence with indigence. Ungrateful would be the government you establish if it forgot that it owes its first care to the most unfortunate. As for me, I shall never forget it. I love order. I devote my life, as you see, to it. I execrate anarchy, because it is the dismemberment of civilized society. I abhor demagogueism, because it is a disgrace to the people, and a scandal to liberty. But, although born in a more favored and happier sphere than you, my friends — what do I say? — perhaps simply because I was born there, because I have worked less, suffered less, than you; because I have had more leisure and reflection to contemplate your distresses, and compassionate them from a distance, I have always desired a more fraternal government, with laws more deeply imbued with the charity which now binds us together in these interviews, these tears, these embraces of love, of which you have given me such examples, and with which I feel myself overwhelmed."

### XXXI.

At the moment when Lamartine was about to continue, and unfolded his arms to appeal to the masses, he suddenly stopped, his words suspended on his lips, his action petrified, his look fixed, and as it were riveted on an object invisible to the rest of the multitude.

In fact, he had for some moments noticed confusedly, through the kind of mist which improvisation throws over the eyes of the orator, a fantastic figure advancing towards him, which he could not explain, and which he took to be an optical delusion or a vestige of the imagination.

It was the bust of a young man, clad in blue, a little elevated above the crowd, and approaching without walking, like those phantoms which glide over the ground without moving on their feet. The nearer the figure approached, the more astonishment did the looks of Lamartine express, and the more did his words seem to halt upon his lips. At last he recognized in this bust the countenance of Louis Blanc. The face had color, but the open eyes were motionless as in a transitory fainting-fit. It was, in fact, Louis Blanc, who had fainted from exhaustion and heat in the lower story and was carried by some of his



friends silently and slowly through the mass of attentive people. At the same moment the wounded man who had embraced and saved Lamartine fell exhausted, and overturned the chair in his fall. Lamartine was sustained by the hands of some men of the people. Louis Blanc recovered in the air at the windows. This interrupted the discourse, but did not destroy its effect.

## XXXII.

Notwithstanding this diversion, the people, feeling the reproaches respecting their impatience, and elevated as if for the first time by the fanaticism of their own glory, repudiated by them in their flags, were particularly impressed by that species of confidence which a minister of foreign affairs, openly sustaining the interests of the country adored by the people, reposed in them. They turned back, as it were, against themselves. They rushed forward, putting aside the guns and pressing down the sabres of those who were nearest, to embrace the knees and touch the hands of the orator. Tears glistened in all eyes. The mendicant himself shed them, and they mingled with his noble blood upon his cheek.

This man had done more towards saving the tri-colored flag and the republic of '93 than the voice of Lamartine or the firmness of government. After his triumph he was lost in the crowd who descended to the square for the last time. Lamartine did not even know his name, and never saw him afterwards. He owes him his life, and France her flag.

## XXXIII.

Meanwhile, many good citizens had learned from public report the tumults to which the government had been exposed for eighteen hours. It was rumored that the red flag had been planted; that the government had been overthrown, and were prisoners in the hands of the terrorists; that Lamartine had been wounded by a shot, and seen from a window with his face and hands bathed in blood! They knew not that it was the blood of the generous mendicant. Consternation reigned in the distant quarters, and confusion in the nearest.

But the most courageous came voluntarily, without any other summons than their own patriotism. They mingled with the masses who occupied the place de Grève. Here, by their position and words, they opposed the factions step by step. They

addressed severe or fraternal reproaches to those most obstinate in preserving the flag of terror. It was at this moment that cries of "*Vive la République!*" bursting from the stairways, windows and courts, and the ebb of the last irruption, pouring forth from the great door with the tri-colored flag displayed, gave courage to the defenders of purity of the republic, and threw fluctuation and disorder into the disjointed ranks of sedition.

The entire square gave way in a confused movement of retreat, with cries of "*Vive la République!*" "Long live the Provisional Government!" "Vive Lamartine!" mingled with some stifled murmurs of anger and disappointment. Disordered bands were seen to retire, trailing the red flag through all the openings of the streets which terminate at the Bastille, or which lead by the quays to the faubourg Saint Marceau and to Bercy. A chant, by a hundred voices, rose like a hymn to the tri-colored flag from the bosom of the people who remained upon the square. It was the Marseillaise. The square itself was soon almost entirely empty. There remained near the gates only two or three hundred National Guards, and a few brave citizens hiding their arms under their coats, ready to devote themselves to the cause of the government and the nation.

#### XXXIV.

Still all was not over. The red bands, on retiring, had uttered threats, and had made gestures with their weapons, which announced a return of sedition in full force on the next day.

While Lamartine was thus struggling face to face with the people on the outside, his colleagues, from whom he had been separated by the crowd, sustained, with equal resolution, the summons and assaults of the partisans of violent measures, and confounded them by the energy of their resistance, and their prompt reorganization of everything.

Garnier Pagès, the mayor of Paris, reestablished order and subordination in the Hôtel de Ville, revoked, confirmed, nominated, and recalled the mayors of the different quarters of Paris. Ledru Rollin reinstalled the vast ministry of the interior which had devolved upon him; he came to an understanding with Caussidière, for reestablishing a summary police, so necessary to a capital without government, and filled with the elements of disorder and crimes. Subervie resumed the vigor and fire of his republican youth, to prevent the disbanding of our brave army. It had left Paris for a moment, but its dislocation and

want of discipline would have disarmed the country while the revolution was in agitation. Up night and day, in uniform, on horseback, or at the council, this old man made the soldiers forget his years, as he did himself. Full of reminiscences of the former republic, which he had never lost sight of, Subervie found no impossibility in reviving the great days of our armed patriotism whose enthusiasm he had preserved.

A pretext was made of his years to remove him, a few weeks later, from the ministry. It was a mistake. The date of his birth only was looked at. His ardor, his activity, and his old-fashioned firmness, were not regarded. Subervie was worthy of continuing Carnot.

Arago concentrated his thoughts on the preservation of the learned arm which had been confided to him,—the navy. He struggled inflexibly against all disorganization of the mechanism of government. Goudchaux, summoned at the outset to the department of finance, sacrificed to patriotism his repugnance and his interest, and shielded credit by his probity and science. Crémieux, Marie, Carnot, Bethmont, like Lamartine, neglected for some days their less important ministries, to face the general exigences and the incessant seditions in the heart of the Hôtel de Ville, the head-quarters of the revolution. Marrast, as indefatigable as he was firm, did not leave the council-table night or day. He prepared the preambles with rapid and luminous precision, while Crémieux and Marie drew up the decrees, and Lamartine the proclamations to the people, the army, and Europe.

### XXXV.

On entering the interior, from that time evacuated by sedition, Lamartine found his colleagues busy with these important details. They took breath, and cast a look of security and hope through the windows on the empty square before the Hôtel de Ville.

It was four hours after midnight. A ray of the sun, piercing the February clouds, was reflected on the moist pavements, and in the pools of water still mixed with blood that stood about the dead carcasses of horses the scavengers were clearing out of the streets. The tri-colored flag had resumed its place over the statue of Henry V., and was floating from all the windows of the houses. Everything breathed the still doubtful serenity which succeeds popular tumults, and which can hardly be

trusted even while experienced. But the people had shown themselves too susceptible and sublime to prevent the triumph of hope over anxiety in the hearts of the members of the government. Dupont de l'Eure and Arago had returned in the afternoon, on hearing a rumor of the perils which threatened their associates. They met in a little room left free by the evacuation of a part of the edifice, and held secret council with the members of government present.

The silence which had succeeded noise, the security following agitation, the hour, the sunbeam, the feeling which expands the heart, the hope which smooths all obstacles, admiration for a people capable of restraining and disarming themselves at the voice of a few unknown citizens, all was of a nature to inspire the soul with these great thoughts which spring from the heart, and are sovereign policy because they are sovereign nature and sovereign truth. Instinct is the supreme legislator. He who inscribes it in the law writes under the dictation of God.

The members of the government were all under the sway of these impressions. There could not be a more favorable moment to impart its character by means of some great measures to the republic. It ought to answer the magnanimity of the people by the magnanimity of institutions. At this moment the government did not contain a single man with sufficient evil inspiration to wish to make the republic the monopoly of a party and the terror of other parties, and to arm this victorious and tyrannical party with proscriptions, confiscations, and scaffolds of terror. But the name of republic was dishonored, in the minds of masses, by these recollections. The blood of 1793 discolored the republic of 1848. It was necessary, on the first day, to wash away these stains, to repudiate all relationship between the two epochs, and to break the weapon of revolution by the hands of the revolutionists themselves, for fear lest mad or wicked men, who attempted to pervert the people, should seize on these arms at a later date, and should cause the name of the republic to be confounded with the memory and terror of the crimes committed in its name.

#### XXXVI.

Each of the members present at the council searched the depths of his heart and mind for the initiative of some great reforms, or some great legislative, political, and social amelior-



rations. These initiatives are the philosophy of revolutions. It is these which establish, in a single day, the level between the advanced ideas of a period and the past facts of a government.

Some proposed the immediate abolition of negro slavery, which sullied the very morality of our laws, and threatened our colonies with perpetual disturbance.

Others suggested the repeal of the laws of September, which weighed down the people with fines equivalent to confiscations.

These were for fraternity proclaimed as a principle between nations, to abolish war by abolishing conquest; those, for the abolition of the electoral census, that political materialism which placed the rights of property above the rights of man.

All sustained the principle, not only of the equality of rights, but also of charity between different classes of citizens, a principle to be applied by all institutions of aid, succor, association, and beneficence, compatible with the freedom of capital and the security of property, the highest charity of governments, which would preserve society and protect family.

As fast as these great democratic truths, rapidly recognized, rather than coldly discussed, were converted into decrees, these decrees passed in proclamations to the people, under the hand of one of the members, ministers or secretaries of the government. A portable printing-press, established in the lobby at the door of the council-chamber, received the decrees, printed them, and distributed them through the windows to the crowd, and by couriers to the departments.

It was the improvisation of a century to which the revolution had supplied language; the rational explosion of all the Christian, philosophical, and democratic truths, which had been forming for half a century in the minds of enlightened schemers, or the confused aspirations of the nation. But the experience of this half century had matured the ideas of the nation, and the men who issued these decrees in its name. This experience was seated, in the persons of Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Marie, and Carnot, at the table where these truths received at once their realization and their proportions. What was remarkable, in a session thus inspired and prolific, there was not a single instance of rashness or exaggeration in the acts and words of this government of enthusiasm. Not one of the legislators would have to cancel, at a later period, a single engagement which he entered into with the country and

the future. Each of these decrees might remain a law in the hands of a National Assembly.

### XXXVII.

When the session was nearly ended, and the programme of the republic thus completely delineated, Lamartine began to speak with uneasy hesitation. An idea had been agitating in his mind since the preceding evening. He brooded over it before producing it, fearful of presenting it before its maturity. He did not distrust the hearts of his colleagues, but he distrusted some of the prejudices of their minds. They saw by his attitude, and learned from his tone, that he was fearful of compromising a great truth and a great political virtue by their premature production. He wished to present them at first in the form of a doubt, perhaps, to allow this measure to be adjourned at the first glance, to be afterwards taken up by reflection.

"Gentlemen," said he, "revolutions also have a great progress to make, a generous tribute to pay to humanity. I am so well convinced that this progress is commanded by God, and would be recognized and blessed by man, that, if I were the sole dictator and revealer of this revolution, I should not hesitate to make this the first decree of the republic. And, by this decree alone, I would win for it more free hearts in France and Europe than hundreds of repressive laws, than exile, proscription, confiscation, and punishment, would ever bind to it in compulsory fidelity. I would abolish the penalty of death.

"I would abolish it for every reason, for society no longer requires it. Its example, in dooming the criminal to death, perverts more than it intimidates. Blood calls for blood. The principle of the inviolability of human life would be better defended should society itself recognize the inviolability of even the life of a criminal. But if this great progress in your criminal legislation must be reserved for the National Assembly, the sole mistress of social laws, at least I would immediately abolish it in politics. I would thus disarm the people of a weapon which, in all revolutions, they have always turned against themselves. I would satisfy those timorous imaginations which are afraid of the advent of new proscriptions with the republic. I would put human blood out of the question. I would inaugurate the reign of democracy by the most divine amnesty, and the most adroit boldness of heart, which has ever been pro-

claimed by a victorious people, whose feet were yet bathed in blood. I would boldly cast this challenge at the feet of the enemies of democracy; and if ever the republic fell, at least it should not fall by its own guilt, and it would be revived by the admiration with which it would have inspired the world."

### XXXVIII.

Lamartine saw, by the faces of his colleagues, that this proposition, while astonishing their minds by its audacity, was yet welcomed by all hearts. All declared that it echoed their sentiments. Objections were made as to time, and by casuists. It was rather adjourned for after consideration, than set aside.

Lamartine was satisfied with having produced a mental movement. He had sounded the depths of thought, and confided in the morrow. He did not press the subject. The next day would bring him a report of the interior working of a truth in right minds and generous hearts.

## BOOK VIII.

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### I.

THE truce seemed destined to last through the night. The session ended with daybreak. Still the minds of men were anxious with regard to the next day, and the aggressive return threatened by the terrorist and communist bands. In the absence of a regular force, with which those who composed the government were entirely unprovided, each of them summoned his own energies, and the good citizens of his quarter. They were conjured to form a rampart of breasts and bayonets, which should intimidate the factions, if they should attempt a final assault around the Hôtel de Ville before daybreak. The day was destined to be decisive.

Lamartine left the seat of government, and employed a portion of the night in rallying his friends round him, and distributing them through the city to recruit, from house to house, courageous men, disposed to come voluntarily, and individually, to save the flag and the purity of the republic. He warned the young men particularly, St. Cyr, the Polytechnic School, the Normal School, and the students of law and medicine. He knew the ascendancy these young men had over the people, who respected in them the flower of their time. His messengers, returning to Lamartine before daybreak, brought him word of the unanimous and heroic devotion of these young men. They had all risen to go from door to door and summon their comrades. There was not one among them who would not have sacrificed his life to shield the cradle of the republic from profanation by demagogues. Wives excited their husbands, mothers their sons, and sisters their brothers. They would have fought themselves, had their sex permitted them to take up arms. They strove, in their hearts at least, for the safety and innocence of the revolution. It is one of the peculiar characteristics of this establishment of the republic, that the lettered or military youth engaged in it were, from the first



moment, and without relaxation, as intrepid in moderation as in impulse. They entertained at once, and unanimously, an enthusiasm for philosophic democracy, and a horror of sanguinary demagogueism. They were at once young in heart and old in wisdom.

Lamartine, from the very beginning, noticed this phenomenon in the midst of the young volunteers of order by whom he was surrounded. This induced him to conceive a good omen for the republic. Moderation was sure to triumph. Wherever the soul of youth is, there lies the spirit of the future.

## II.

Five or six thousand armed citizens found themselves, before daybreak of the following day, united by the single impulse of public safety, before the gates and principal issues of the Hôtel de Ville. The place de Grève was soon covered by a multitude, whose collected aspect, whose expression, at once intelligent and firm, evinced the grave thoughts of a people witnessing its own regeneration, instead of the intoxicated and sanguinary notions of a mob, the preface to sedition. The members of the government were all at their posts, with the exception of the minister of the interior, who was intrusted with the safety of Paris, and who did not make his appearance till a later hour of the evening. Whenever Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Marie, and Crémieux, were seen at one of the windows, a thousand heads were uncovered. Shouts, gestures, and clapping of hands, discovered them to the looks and enthusiasm of the people. The less numerous and compact bodies, who bore the red flags, appeared isolated in the midst of this crowd. From time to time these disheartened standards were seen to sink under the repugnance of the masses. The true people resumed the place of which demagogueism wished to dispossess them.

The members of government and the ministers resumed their labor of effecting universal reorganization with a more marked concurrence of good citizens.

A subject of deliberation in the secret council was the attitude which the republic ought to present to the king, his family, his ministers, and the princes who commanded in Algeria. Some men about the government, believing in opposition in the interior under the war-cry of royalty, urged the government to adopt measures, not of rigor, but of prudence, towards the fugitives. To search for the ministers who were still hidden

in Paris, and whom domiciliary visits might readily discover ; to pursue the king and queen, wandering upon the roads to England, which might easily be closed against their flight ; to seize the Duchess of Orleans and her sons, whose footsteps had been traced, and whose asylum was suspected even by members of government ; to retain these two royal generations as hostages of the republic ; to confiscate their immense properties ; to confine their persons ; to bring to trial those ministers whom the passionate vengeance of the moment made responsible for the blood shed in Paris, — such were the counsels that certain politicians of the revolutionary routine whispered from without to the dictators.

This advice was immediately rejected by the unanimous good sense and generosity of the government. To seize upon the minister ! It was, on the one hand, to bear upon misfortune, and convert faults into crimes ; on the other, to prepare for the government and the republic, as in 1830, the embarrassment of a doubtful suit, in which it would have been as dangerous to convict as to acquit. To pursue the king and his family ! It would be to bring them back to Paris, mild and reasonable to-day, vindictive and irritable to-morrow. It would be, perhaps, to carry into an uncertain future a prey for terror, and victims for an odious scaffold. To detain the Duchess of Orleans and her children ! That would be to imprison misfortune, and punish innocence. To confiscate the personal property of the royal house ! That would be to confound the king with the man, the public with the private domain ; to strike at the principle of property in the highest fortunes of the empire, at the very moment when government and society wished to defend, in property, the basis of families, and the existence of future generations. Policy, morality, and sentiment, equally commanded the government to fortify the republic against these public dangers, this severity and harshness. They indignantly rejected all thoughts and acts of national recrimination. The revolution they had joined to save and elevate should never be a shameful relapse of the people into the disgrace and crimes of all preceding revolutions. It should be a victory, and not an act of vengeance ; a progress in feeling as well as public reason, and not a vile satisfaction yielded to the jealous or cruel instincts of parties.

Some, even, would have wished them to go to greater lengths, in braving, at once, the persecutors and courtiers of the extinct dynasties. They spoke of the approaching and safe possibility

of reādmittinɡ all these dynasties, only interdictinɡ to them the functions of president of the republic during a certain number of years.

"The true dynasty," said Lamartine, "is universal suffrage. The people will never permit themselves to be divested of their sovereignty to restore it to a family. Nations, once seated on the throne, never abdicate. Let us accustom them to think themselves invincible in the face of those whom they have dethroned."

### III.

These purposes, too far advanced for the morrow of a revolution, were only a subject of conversation. But the measures of safety for the ministers, and national generosity for the members of the fallen dynasty, were converted into secret resolutions. Finally, to secure a better reception for these resolves from public opinion, and to satisfy the people while preserving the life and liberty of the king, a proclamation of the abolition of royalty, under all the royal races which had disputed the possession of the crown for fifty years, was made.

Lamartine undertook, on his own responsibility, at his personal risk and peril before the people, to permit the escape of the ministers, if they were seized in their retreats; and also agreed to follow the steps of the king and queen, the princesses and their children, and to send agents, accredited by him, to protect, if necessary, their retirement from the French territory; to send them the sums necessary for their subsistence, and to shield them as far as the frontiers, not only by security, but by those tokens of respect which honor the people who pay them, as much as they console the victims of human catastrophes.

The minister of finance was authorized to pay him from the secret fund, on his order, a sum of three hundred thousand francs, for this safeguard of the persons of royalty. He took fifty thousand only, which he credited to the account of foreign affairs, in order to place them in the hands of the commissioners at their departure. This precaution was useless. No sum was expended. It will be seen afterwards what prevented the use of it which the government had authorized.

### IV.

The council, in this session, wrote their decrees, so to speak, under the dictation of the national feeling, and amid the ap-

place of the public square. The day advanced, but the people collecting with the day in innumerable masses, did not allow themselves to assist in the action of the government. A vast choir of voices, under the windows, upon the quays and upon the bridges, entered with their hymns, their acclamations and their murmurs, even into the hall of deliberation. But they respected at that moment its mystery and liberty.

The faces of the members of government beamed at last with serenity. The thought which Lamartine had impressed during the evening on their hearts must mount at such an hour to their lips. Joy is magnanimous in the masses. That thought floated in the eyes of all. Louis Blanc expressed it.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I was forcibly struck yesterday with the idea of M. de Lamartine, an idea which appeared to me at first sight in advance of our position; but since the generosity of the people has ripened for twenty-four hours, they are, perhaps, capable of comprehending and accepting it to-day. It is, in fine, the thought of disarming ideas and the people of that punishment of death, which saddens the heart, envenoms opinions, and imbues with blood the very conquests and virtues of the people. I move that we deliberate anew upon this proposition of M. de Lamartine, and that we grant to humanity this boon of joyful presage for democracy!"

Lamartine thanked, with heart and look, his young colleague. He seized the hand which had been moved to take up his own thought. The deliberation was a short exchange of assent and reciprocal congratulations. The heart stifled the timid objections of the mind. The greatness of this act, by which seven men, whose feet had been bathed in the blood of civil war the evening before, dared to propose to this people to disarm themselves forever of sword and scaffold, elevated the thoughts and courage of all. A superhuman inspiration was visible in the attitude of those who were deliberating. Their eyes were moistened, their lips were trembling, and their hands had the agitation of fever, as their pens ran over the paper. Each one sought a draft worthy of the thought to be presented to the people. That of Lamartine, corrected and amended by a phrase of Louis Blanc, was adopted. The members present rose, after having heard it, with an electric movement of enthusiasm. Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Crémieux and Pagnerre, threw themselves into each other's arms, like men who have just saved humanity from a shipwreck of blood. They put on their tri-colored belts, the



only marks of their sovereign authority. They prepared to present, for the ratification of the people, the rash decree which they had dared to propose in their name. Lamartine was charged with this appeal to the heart of the multitude.

## V.

The voices of those who filled the Hôtel de Ville announced to those without that the provisional government was about to descend. A confused retinue was formed about them. They passed the steps, under an arch of peaceful weapons and floating flags, and appeared at the entrance of the palace.

Dupont de l'Eure, depressed by weariness, elevated by courage, gave one arm to Lamartine, the other to Louis Blanc. The crowd preserved a religious silence.

Lamartine, advancing as far as the gate, raised himself on an estrade near the cannons, and uttered, with the full compass of the human voice, some phrases of congratulation and of good augury, over those thousands of persons bowed before him. Their heads were uncovered. The sun fell upon their looks, and their half opened lips seemed to breathe in the words before having heard them; those nearest the orator transmitted them to those more distant. Lamartine spoke slowly, as the sailor on the sea, to give time for the sounds to run over these human waves.

He commenced by melting, and, so to speak, by sanctifying the multitude, in order to prepare them, by a religious accent and feeling, for the decree, which he wished to have carried by acclamations. When he saw recollection in their faces, emotion in their eyes, and acclamation on their lips, he read the decree.

A light hesitation, from astonishment, was manifested in some of the groups. A murmur might destroy all. It did not break forth. At each phrase of the preamble and decree, the people, representing their own greatness in the greatness of the thought of the government, interrupted the reading by clapping of hands and benedictions, which spread like the motion of the sea. The decree was received like a gospel of humanity. The government, obeyed and adored, reentered the vestibule.

The rest of the day was devoted to joy. "If this revolution had only this day," cried Dupont de l'Eure, "and if my last years had only this hour, I should not regret the eighty years of labor that God has given me."

## VI.

In proceeding from the Hôtel de Ville, to take suitable measures relative to the royal family, Lamartine was recognized by some men of the people, at the entrance of the quay. On the instant, the square, covered with the crowd, was moved to form his retinue. His gestures and words were powerless to dismiss this escort. A long column of citizens of all classes, and especially workmen, accompanied him with their benedictions and songs as far as the Tuileries. Arrived at the gate of the palace, the multitude who formed the head of the retinue wished to make him enter, as if to take possession of his popular royalty, by the installation of the new government in the residence of kings. Lamartine refused with energy.

"The citizens," said he, "in whom the people temporarily repose their power, should have no other palace but their house."

He took leave of a part of his escort; the other part conducted him, by the bridge and the rue du Bac, as far as his dwelling. The crowd arranged themselves respectfully before his door. Lamartine harangued them upon the threshold. "You have shown to-day to God and men," said he to them, "that there is nothing which cannot be obtained from such a people, by appealing to their virtues. This day will be inscribed, in your history, on a level with the greatest days of your national grandeur. For the glory which you have acquired by it will not call upon you the maledictions of victims, nor the resentment of the people, but the benedictions of posterity. You have torn the flag of terror from the hands of the second republic! You have abolished the scaffold! It is enough for two days! Go and reäsure your wives and your children, in their homes, and tell them that you have well merited, not only from history, but from the human heart, and from God."

## VII.

The night having come, Lamartine went out alone and on foot, wrapped up in his cloak, to avoid being recognized. He went to the house of M. de Montalivet, friend and confidant of the king. Lamartine did not doubt that M. de Montalivet knew the designs, the route, and the asylum of the royal family. He assured the ex-minister that the government dreaded more to seize the fugitives than they could themselves fear

being arrested. He confided to him the protecting designs of his colleagues, together with the sums put at his disposal to facilitate departure from the territory, and to offer the first bread of exile to those who had, the day before, reigned over France. He conjured him to surrender himself to his discretion and to the magnanimity of the government, decided to prevent, even at the expense of its popularity, a crime, a remorse, and a shame to the republic.

M. de Montalivet was touched by this loyalty and magnanimity of a government which so well interpreted the soul of a great people. He knew nothing, as yet, but the direction of the king's flight.

This prince, on quitting Paris, had stopped some minutes at Saint Cloud, escorted to that place by a regiment of cuirassiers, and persuaded that his abdication had stifled the revolution and that his grandson already reigned in his stead. He had written to M. de Montalivet to send to him, at his chateau d'Eu, the papers and articles which the precipitation of his departure had prevented him from taking from the Tuileries. Thence he had continued his route to the chateau d'Eu, the retreat which he had prepared for his old age, the asylum which he had destined for his widow, the tomb he had raised for his own ashes, and for the ashes of the children who had preceded him in death.

The restless affection of M. de Montalivet had not been able to learn more respecting the fate of the king whose friend he was. He only knew that the king, after a short stay at Eu, had gone thence by circuitous roads, in a carriage without followers, and under some disguise; and that he was wandering either upon the coasts or upon the waves of the channel. He promised Lamartine to inform him of any intelligence which might come to him. Lamartine returned, had a travelling carriage prepared, and begged the commissioners, whom he had directed to hold themselves in readiness to start at the first signal, to go to the exiles from the throne, as the guard of that security and respect which the government destined for them. One of the commissioners whom Lamartine had charged with this delicate and pious mission was the grandson of Lafayette. Lamartine thought that in case the king had been recognized and arrested at Rouen or Havre, or at any of the seaports, the name of Lafayette, dear to the revolution, and pledge of respect for the king himself, would protect the royal family, and would assure the execution of the

measures of the inviolability of persons, and of decency, taken for their free departure. The two other commissioners appointed were M. de Champeaux and M. Dargaud, particular friends of Lamartine, men of intelligence and courage, both devoted in heart to their mission, and initiated into the designs of this safeguard of misfortune.

### VIII.

The morrow was the day appointed by the government for the proclamation, or rather the acclamation, of the republic, on the place de la Bastille. For the people it was a vain ceremonial; for the government it was a twofold political measure: it wished, in the first place, to verify, by an authentic solemnity, the defeat of the partisans of the red flag, and the republic of violence; it wished, in the next place, to pass in review the National Guard of Paris, and to assure itself of the civic forces that good citizens could at need afford it against the factious. The problem was, whether, after the downfall of government, the moral spirit of the National Guard of Paris, composed in a vast majority of the *bourgeoisie*, would feel itself vanquished with the throne? Would it abandon the street to the only armed combatants of the three days? Would it rally to the republic, as it had rallied to the revolution during the struggle? and would it associate itself, in the same progressive movement of order and of liberty, with the unanimity of the people? The government wished to know this; it wished, above all, to demonstrate it, for the sake of producing an imposing effect upon agitators, by the concord and the massiveness of the manifestation.

The proclamation and the procession beneath the column of July had been fixed the preceding day for two o'clock in this afternoon. While the different legions were taking up their positions on the boulevard, while the people inundated the rue Saint Antoine and the quarters which empty their currents upon the Bastille, and the train of the government was forming on the square, a fresh sedition, but a sedition of ideas rather than a sedition of passion, murmured under the windows and in the halls of the Hôtel de Ville.

The terrorists, the communists, the demagogues, vanquished two days before, seemed to have renounced, for the moment, the idea of new assaults. The energy of good citizens, the wisdom of the mass of the people, had thrown them back into shadow and inactivity; all they had kept of the red flag were



cockades and red ribbons, which they still affected to wear on their hats and their coats.

But there is in Paris a mass of workmen, of artists, and of artisans, belonging to those trades in which the hand is the most nearly connected with the head, typographers, engravers, mechanicians, cabinet-makers, locksmiths, carpenters, and others, forming together a mass of about fifty thousand men. These artists, artisans, workmen, are generally born, or domiciliated, established, married, at Paris; they receive considerable wages whenever industry competes for their services. They have leisure; they employ it, some in dissoluteness and debauchery, for which labor can never sufficiently make up — the largest number in professional studies, in reading, in courses of scientific, philosophical, religious lectures, which sharpen their minds for political or social controversies; a lower, but still educated, stratum, beneath that great stratum of intelligence and literature which covers the moral soil of France.

These men are the flower of that portion of the people which work with the hand; they are confounded, by education, manners, costume, with the classes that live by the liberal professions; of the lowest ranks at the root, they are already advanced at the top to the condition of respectable citizenship. They have among themselves, in each trade, societies, associations, organizations for mutual aid, orators, delegates, who gain their confidence, and discuss their interests with the contractors; honest enough to detest bloodshed, to hold pillage in abhorrence, averse to disorder, they are sufficiently well-informed to be accessible to sophism — not profound enough to confute it and repel it.

It is among these men that the different socialist schools, which had multiplied since 1830 at Paris, at Lyons, at Rouen, in Germany, recruited their numerous disciples. The problem, thus far without radical solution, of the inequality of human conditions, of extreme misery at the side of extreme wealth, scandalized them, as it has scandalized in vain all the philosophers and all the religious men of all ages. They flattered themselves that they had found a solution, — some by imitation of the monastic system, with Fourier; others by imitation of the brutal system of the castes of India, with Saint-Simon; some by religious joint-property in the soil, with Pierre Leroux; others by suppression of specie as the sign of riches, with Proudhon: the greatest number, repelled by the impossibility, the violence, the chimerical nature, of these schools, believed

they had found a practical adjustment in the system, less unreasonable at the first aspect, and less disturbing in appearance, of Louis Blanc.

This system, called by the elastic name of association, and applicable in effect with advantage within certain limits, bore for them the generic definition of the *organization of labor*. Now, the organization of labor, thus understood, being only the enslaving of capital and the sovereign and arbitrary rating of wages by the state, suppresses liberty on the part of the proprietor, the interest of labor on the part of the laborer, and consequently suppresses capital, wages, and labor, by a single blow. It is the *maximum* generalized and bearing upon the entire in lustrial and territorial society. It is making the state, God, and labor, a slave; it is the death of all free relations between man and man, under the pretext of destroying the abuses of competition. This party abolishes, purely and simply, the possession of capital and its liberty; that is to say, it indirectly abolishes property, like all the schools of this nature, and together with property it would abolish society, the family, and the man.

This latter system, nevertheless, expounded with great confidence, great moderation, and great eloquence, by the young writer, had not convinced, but beguiled, quite a large number of these workmen. Louis Blanc was their apostle; they believed in him, if not as inspired, at least as a master and a guide in the investigation of the industrial problem. The ultimate consequences did not strike them; for Louis Blanc did not seem to avow them to himself. While in the act of destroying, he believed he was simply doing a work of amelioration.

## IX.

Those masses were for many days agitated by these shadows of ideas. They saw their master at the threshold of power, in the capacity of secretary, and presently a member of government. They were, perhaps, impelled by the breath of ambitious aspirations, which hid themselves behind a popular name. They wished to profit by the breach opened to all innovators by the revolution, to launch their system into the republic, and so to identify it with the republic from the outset that a separation could not afterwards take place.

Since the morning, they had been pouring into the square and the Hôtel de Ville, and sending deputations on deputations

to the members of government, to demand the nomination of Louis Blanc as minister of progress, and instant incorporation of the words "organization of labor" in the programme of the promises guaranteed to the people. Louis Blanc himself strongly advised his appointment to this vague and indefinite ministry of progress. He seemed to think that nothing but this satisfaction to his name would calm the multitude.

All the members of the government energetically resisted, during four hours, demands reiterated under all forms of industrial socialism. Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, Goudchaux, and Marie, by turns, addressed the delegates of the working people freely, but without being able to restrain their urgency.

It was vainly demonstrated to them that the pressure of the hand of the republic upon capital would instantly remove or bury it; that all labor and wages would disappear with it; that the liberty and security of traffic were the very essence of all industry and commerce; that they demanded the suicide of laboring men. They drowned every objection by their vociferations. A thousand forms of expression were attempted without finding one which would satisfy them without involving the republic in an impracticable sophism. They even went so far as to write the word organization of labor, defining it inoffensively and practically, by giving it the only sense it could have from the hand of legislator—that of *surveillance* of labor, and aid to laborers. A large majority of the government refused to sign a word of double meaning; and the workmen themselves would not have it on these terms.

## X.

This irritation, so formidable at such a moment, increased. A final deputation filled the halls, and hammered with their knuckles, or sword-hilts, on the council-table. Lamartine, standing in the front of the most animated delegates, addressed them, in the name of his colleagues, with the resolution of men who are shielding a community with their bodies. "Citizens," said he, pointing to the square, where their comrades, with lighted matches, guarded four pieces of cannon at the gates, "you should place me before the muzzles of those guns before you would make me sign these two words associated together:—'Organization of labor.'"

A murmur of astonishment and anger rose in the halls. The

table only separated Lamartine and his colleagues from the most irritated workmen.

"Let me speak reason to reasonable men," continued Lamartine. "I am going to tell you why I will never sign this decree. I have two reasons, citizens. The first is, that I do not think myself either more or less intelligent than any other man of my age and country, and that, after twenty years of reflection and study of the conditions of industrial society, I have been unable to understand these two words in connection, one of which excludes the other. I will not sign what I cannot understand.

"The second is, that, if we should promise you the organization of labor, we should promise what no human power could fulfil. I will sign only such engagements with the people as I can fulfil."

These firm words, accompanied by the accent of conviction which inspired them, began to make the most intelligent and most moderate of the workmen reflect. Lamartine, taking advantage opportunely of their softened dispositions, requested permission to discuss freely and frankly with them the important question which was brewing beneath the republic. He discussed it at length, in its details, and with proof. He demonstrated, by the absurdity of the consequences, the vanity and odiousness of the principle of violating the liberty of capital in industry. He rendered palpable to these men, whose fanaticism had been kindled by a trick of speech, the impracticability of their system. He exposed this trick of speech, and developed from it the nothingness, the vanity, the ruin of all through the oppression of a few.

"You see it," he added; "in demanding the absolute control of the state over capital and over wages, you are made to dream of the annihilation of capital, that is to say, of the very source of all labor. It is your hunger and your thirst, and the gradual extinction of yourselves, your wives and your children, that you demand! We should have the courage to refuse you these plagues, which you mistake for realities, and which are thus far only the mirage of illusion and wretchedness! No; we will not be accomplices in the delirium of this fever that is thus enkindled in the most interesting, because the most suffering, portion of the people! We will refuse you your own destruction, which you would snatch from us.

"But do you understand, by organization of labor, the opening of the eye and hand of the republic upon the condition of the working class, in order to elevate, to enlighten, to ameli-



orate it, to improve its morals incessantly?"—"Yes, yes!" shouted these men, already turned from their chimeras.)—"Do you understand by it institutions of professional instruction, of apprenticeship, of intellectual and material aid to workmen? of gratuitous education for their children? of healthfulness for their labors? of assistance for their infirm and their aged? of mutual associations, encouraged by the state, in order to help them pass periods of crisis and forced want of work, like the present? Do you understand by it the more and more equitable and Christian distribution of taxes, which deducts a portion of them for the relief of the unmerited miseries of the laboring classes, as in England, and which proportions the taxes to the fortune?"—"Yes, yes!" replied the delegates, with enthusiasm. "That is all we want. We demand from government only justice and moderation, only guarantees against stagnation of work, and against the indigence of our families! Our own arms will suffice for the rest! And we will again devote them to the service of our country."

"Well, if that is all you desire," rejoins Lamartine, "we desire it with you, and still more ardently, for we are not of those who impose limits to the progress of the divine morality in society, or limits to the duties of property and of government towards the destitute, who are men and citizens as well as ourselves. We desire that this revolution may benefit them: we desire that it may elevate them, in the first place, to political rights; in the next, to the right of property by virtue of labor. But we desire that it may benefit some without injuring others, without abandoning society to chaos, to pillage, to chimeras which would demolish it to universal ruin, and yours the earliest!

"Now, the organization of labor is, in our eyes, only the confiscation of capital, the robbery of wages, the annihilation of a part, and the most active part, of property, the impossibility of government, the immediate cessation of all labor, the starvation, at once, of the pauper and proprietor! Once again, I will never sign your own misery, and your own condemnation!" And he threw from his left hand the paper already drafted. The workmen applauded, and mingled with the escort which descended with the government.

## XI.

An innumerable crowd attended the new power. The ministers, the generals remaining in Paris, the principal authori-

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GRAND PROCESSION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

ties, the mayors of Paris, surrounded the government. Some battalions of National Guards, mingled with the armed people, opened the march. They passed with difficulty through the multitude. The members of the government were on foot, in their costume of private citizens, marked only by a tri-colored belt. This simplicity, far from humiliating, increased the greatness of the republic. The people appeared to enjoy the sight of power descending into its bosom, disdaining the influence of the pomp and prestige of royalty over their senses, and only offering to their eyes a power of necessity and reason, personified by five or six men, clothed like themselves.

The quays, the streets, the balconies, the windows, and the roofs, were covered with spectators. The rue Saint Antoine, at the part where it enlarges, like the mouth of a river, in approaching the Bastille, was obstructed with waves of people. In going from the Hôtel de Ville, some red flags, and a great number of red ribbons on the coats, still struck the eye. As the procession advanced in the midst of acclamations, these flags were voluntarily lowered. The pavements were strown with red cockades and ribbons, discarded by those who wore them, and cast into the streets under the feet of the dictators. Incessant cries of *Vive le gouvernement provisoire!* were raised and prolonged, mounting from story to story, and echoing from façade to façade.

Arago, his head uncovered, and exposing his white hair to the sun and wind, marched at the side of Lamartine. These two names were the most applauded. That of Dupont de l'Eure appeared to inspire more veneration; that of Ledru Rollin, more passion; that of Louis Blanc, more of rare but bitter fanaticism. Their faces breathed the hope and serenity of a return of calm after the season of tempests.

The government established itself at the foot of the column. Dupont de l'Eure and Arago faced the procession. They replied to the congratulations and speeches. The republic was sanctioned by the unanimous acclamation of the people and the National Guard. This acclamation was prolonged, as by an electrical consent, along the line of legions, from the bridge of Austerlitz to the Madeleine. Society, abandoned by monarchy, took refuge in liberty. There was no longer a contest of systems, — there was the concord of reason.

The procession continued four hours, at a rapid pace. A hundred and twenty thousand bayonets, representing all pro-



fessions and all opinions, saluted the republic, and rose towards the sky, to attest their desire to defend order, by defending the government.

## XII.

During the review, Lamartine kept himself constantly in the rear of the procession. He took off his insignia of office, and mingled in the crowd, to retire. Recognized, as in the evening, at the corner of the rue Saint Antoine, he was followed. The people of this quarter had seen him in action during the scenes of the red flag. This people had conceived for him that enthusiasm which energy inspires in the multitude, even when it resists them. A vast crowd, collected on his steps, surrounded him, and inundated the place Royale. Lamartine could only escape a popular triumph, which would have agitated and disquieted Paris, by running for shelter into one of the houses of the square, inhabited by M. Hugo. The genius of eternal popularity gave an asylum to the popularity of a day. While the crowd was knocking at the doors, the porter made Lamartine pass over the interior courts, and a wall which opened on a deserted street. He mounted, his face covered with his cloak, into a cabriolet, which was just passing. He asked the driver to conduct him to his house, through unfrequented streets.

He preserved silence. The driver, seated at his side, showed him the handle of his broken whip. He told him that he had destroyed this whip the evening before, while conducting one of the fugitive ministers of royalty out of Paris. Lamartine, silent, was struck by this vicissitude of human fortune, by which, in the interval of two days, and in the same carriage, one politician escaped from pursuit, and another from triumph.

The manifestation of strength and concord, which the review of the armed people and the National Guard had given in this pacific and unanimous proclamation of the republic, gave to Paris the security and order of a capital which had not changed its government.

The republic was proclaimed or accepted with the same unanimity in the departments. Thirty-six millions of souls changed their sovereignty without the loss of a life. Blood had flowed at Paris for or against *Reforme*. Not a drop of blood had flowed in France for or against the republic. Passion said to some, the republic is your conquest; to others, the republic is your safety; to all, it is your necessity.

NOTE TO SECTION XII., PAGE 42.

"If there had been in the constituent assembly more statesmen than philosophers, it would have felt that an intermediate state was impossible under the protection of a half-dethroned king. The guardianship and administration of conquests are not committed to the vanquished. An absolute party is the only sure party for great crises. It is genius to know how to seize these extreme parties at the right moment. Let us speak it boldly; history will some day say the same as we do. There was a time when the constituent assembly might have chosen between monarchy and a republic, and when it should have chosen a republic. In that consisted the safety, the legitimacy of the revolution. In wanting resolution, it wanted prudence.

"But they say, with Barnave, France is monarchical from her geography as well as from her character; and a debate is raised at once between monarchy and the republic. Let us be understood:—

"Geography is of no party: Rome and Carthage had no frontiers; Genoa and Venice had no territories. It is not the soil which determines the nature of institutions; it is the age. The geographical objection of Barnave fell, a year afterwards, before the prodigies of France in 1793. She has shown whether a republic wants unity and centralization to defend a continental nationality. Waves and mountains are the frontiers of the weak. Men are the frontiers of the people. Let us then leave geography. We no longer have geometers to draft social constitutions; we have statesmen.

"Now, nations have two great instincts, which reveal to them the form which they must take, according to the hour of the national life to which they have arrived; the instinct of their preservation and that of their increase. To act or to repose, to march or remain stationary, are two wholly different acts, which require of men entirely different attitudes. It is the same with nations. The monarchy or the republic answer exactly, among a people, to the wants of these two opposed states of being, repose or action. We here understand these two words, repose and action, in their most absolute sense. For there is also repose in republics, and action under monarchies.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Has a people arrived at one of those epochs when it is necessary for them to act with the whole intensity of their strength, in order to make, either at home or abroad, one of those organic transformations, which are as necessary for a people as the current is for a river, or an explosion for compressed forces? The republic is the necessary and fated form of a nation at such a moment. For a sudden, irresistible, and convulsive action of the social body, the arms and will of all are necessary. The people collect in crowds, and expose themselves, without order, to the danger. They alone can suffice for the crisis. What other arm than that of the whole people can remove what they have to remove? displace what they wish to destroy? install what they wish to establish? Mon-

archy, in attempting this, would break a thousand times its sceptre. There is need of a lever which can raise thirty millions of wills. That lever the nation alone possesses. It is itself the motive force, the fulcrum and the lever.

\* \* \* \* \*

"The constituent assembly was then blind and feeble, in not giving a republic to the revolution, as its natural instrument. Mirabeau, Bailly, Lafayette, Sieyès, Barnave, Talleyrand, Lamèze, acted in this like philosophers, not like great politicians. The event has proved it. They believed the revolution was finished as soon as it was decreed; they believed the monarchy converted as soon as it had sworn to the constitution. The revolution had only commenced, and the oath of royalty to the revolution was as vain as the oath of the revolution to royalty. These two elements could only assimilate after the interval of a century. This interval was the republic. A people does not pass in a day, nor even in fifty years, from revolutionary action to monarchical repose. It would be to forget, at a time when it is necessary to remember it, that the crisis has been so terrible, and that it agitates us yet. If the revolution, which always pursues its course, had received its proper and natural government, the republic, — that republic would have been less tumultuous and restless than our five attempts at monarchy. The nature of the age in which we live protests against the traditional form of power. At an epoch of movement, a government of movement. Behold the law!

\* \* \* \* \*

"The republic, if it had been legally established by the assembly in its right and authority, would have been very different from the republic which was perfidiously and atrociously seized upon, nine months after, by the insurrection of the 10th of August. It would have had, without doubt, the agitations inseparable from the infancy of a new order. It would not have escaped the disorders inevitable in a country from the first movement, incited by the very greatness of its dangers. But it would have sprung from a law instead of having sprung from a sedition, from a right in place of a wrong, from a deliberation instead of an insurrection. That alone would change the sinister conditions of its future. It must become restless; it might have remained pure.

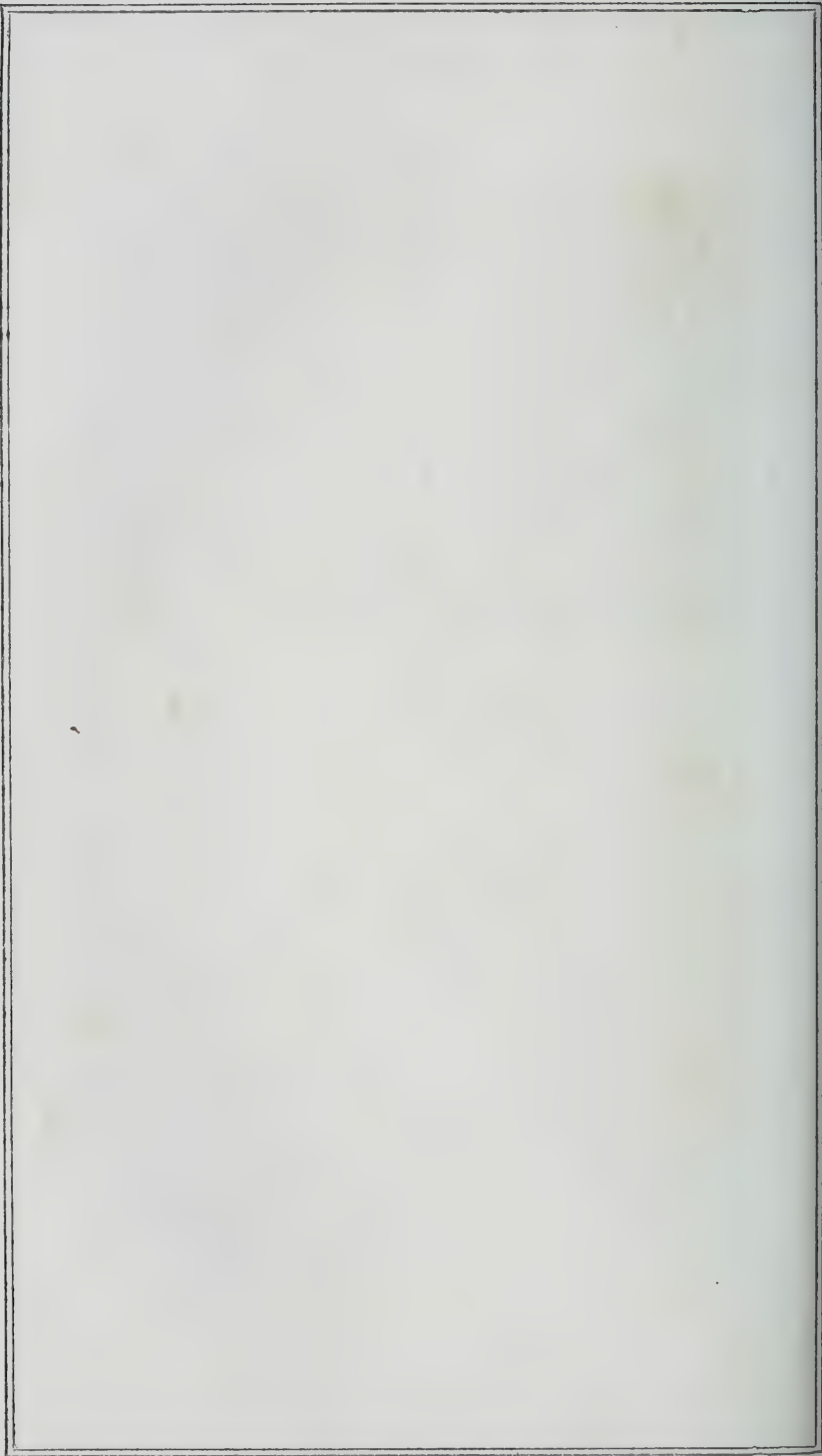
"See how the single fact of its legal and well-weighed proclamation would change everything. The 10th of August would not have taken place; the perfidy and tyranny of the commune of Paris, the massacre of the guards, the assault of the palace, the flight of the king to the assembly, the outrages with which he was covered — in fine, his imprisonment in the temple, would have been spared. The republic would not have slain a king, a queen, an innocent child, and a virtuous princess. It would not have had the massacres of September, those Saint Bartholomews of the people that stain forever the swaddling clothes of liberty. It would not have been baptized in the blood of three hundred thousand victims. It would not have placed in the hands of the revolutionary tribunal the axe of the people, with which it immolated a whole generation to give place to an idea. It would not have had the 31st of May. The Girondists, coming pure into power, would have had more strength to combat demagoguism. The republic, deliberately established, would have intimidated Europe in a very different manner from a sedition legitimated by murder and assassination. The war might have been avoided;

\* \* \* \* \*

or, if the war was inevitable, it would have been more unanimous and triumphant. Our generals would not have been massacred by their soldiers at cries of treason. The spirit of nations would have fought with us, and the horror of our days of August, of September and January, would not have repulsed from our standard hearts attracted by our doctrines. Behold how a single change at the beginning of the republic would have changed the fate of the revolution!

"In fine, the constituent assembly, whose thought lighted up the globe, whose audacity in two years transformed an empire, had only one wrong at the close of its work; that of reposing. It should have perpetuated itself; it abdicated. A nation which abdicates after two years of rule, and upon a heap of ruins, bequeaths the sceptre to anarchy. The king could no longer rule; the nation did not wish to rule; the factions ruled. The revolution perished, not on account of too great desires, but for the want of sufficient daring. So true is it that the timidity of nations is not less sad than the weakness of kings, and that a people which does not know how to take and preserve all which belongs to it, tempts at once tyranny and anarchy! The assembly dared all, excepting to reign. The reign of the revolution could alone be called a republic. The assembly left that name to factions and that form to terror. This was its fault. It expiated it, and the expiation of this fault is not finished for France.





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# THE EX-ROYAL FAMILY OF FRANCE.

Prince de Joinville. Duke de Montpensier. Duke d'Aumale.  
 Duke de Nemours. Louis Philippe, Ex-King of the French. Duchess of Orleans  
 Count de Paris. Duke de Chartres. Marie Amelie, Ex-Queen of the French.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
FRENCH REVOLUTION  
OF  
1848.

BY A. DE LAMARTINE.

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Quilibet nautarum, rectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest: ubi scæva ortu tempestu est, ac turbato mari, vento rapitur navis, tum viris opus est.

*Address of Fabius to the Senate.*

---

TRANSLATED BY  
FRANCIS A. DURIVAGE AND WILLIAM S. CHASE.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

BOSTON:  
PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & COMPANY,  
110 Washington Street.  
1851.





# HISTORY

OF THE

## REVOLUTION OF 1848.

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### BOOK IX.

#### I.

ENTHUSIASM had seized upon the entire people since the government had put an end to bloodshed, protected persons, saved property, proclaimed the republic, and banished the symbols of terror and anarchy. Concord, at their summons, had entered the hearts of the citizens, and joy sparkled in their faces. The fraternity of words was translated into acts. The revolution seemed a festival rather than a catastrophe.

The government was seconded in its measures by the three most powerful passions of the human heart, fear, hope, and enthusiasm. The rich, independent, middling, landed, industrial and commercial classes, had just feared that the destruction of the throne, and the name of republic, would be a signal for the spoliations, massacres, and scaffolds, whose memory had been for fifty years confounded with the image of republican institutions. These classes were surprised, and even touched, to see and hear plans and decrees which emphatically repudiated all analogy and consanguinity between the two republics. They forgot, for a moment, the advantages, monopolies, public employments, emoluments, and favors, they had lost by the fall of the royalty of July. They only thought of the security to their titles and fortune guaranteed to them by the government. They rallied, and hurried to the new government like shipwrecked men to the fragments of a wreck. They poured into the Hôtel de Ville. They offered their purses, their hands and hearts, to the men who had sprung to the helm to save society from destruction. They were resigned to a republic, provided that the republic insured the safety of all.

The landed or industrial portion of the people, who live by order, credit, exchange, and labor, had experienced the same fears, and shared the same sentiments. The proletaries, the working-men, the laborers, who have no capital but their hands, no income but their wages, and no social patrimony but their morality and their economy, were filled with enthusiastic gratitude and hope, for a revolution which raised them to the rank of citizens, and restored to them their just portion of social rights and political sovereignty. They felt that their fate was henceforth in their own hands. The republic, in admitting to its councils representatives chosen by them, and sometimes from among them, promised an era of equality, justice, and providence, for an immense class for a long time deprived of all participation in the laws. Still they exaggerated neither their grievances, their parts, nor their exigences. They loudly proclaimed respect for property, the inviolability of capital, a free contract for wages between the laborer and the manufacturer, who proportions them to his profits. It might be said that society understood itself. An incalculable mass of reason, information, moderation in desire, and religious morality, had, within a half century, thoroughly penetrated this population by all its pores. Not only did they become calm, resigned, and reorganized, at the voice of an unarmed government, but they lent it arms, gave it time, displayed patience towards it, put up with half wages in their free workshops, or a feeble alimentary succor in the national workshops opened by the municipalities of Paris. Some of them even disinterestedly resigned these wages of distress, to avoid increasing the expenses of the republic. Others went further yet, and uniting themselves in professional bodies, from a pure impulse of patriotism, imposed a tax upon themselves, and brought hourly to the government the voluntary impost saved out of their bread, the tithe of the sweat of their brows. This they did unostentatiously, virtuously, and with tears. Whosoever saw them then, will never despair of this people. It is the heart of the nation; it suffices to touch it, and forth gush treasures of disinterestedness, resignation, and courage. Hope governed them.

## II.

Finally, the audacity with which a few disinterested and unambitious men had perilled their lives, in rushing to the head of the people at the Hôtel de Ville, to prevent anarchy,

and save at once the revolution and society ; the desperate and victorious resistance of these men to the red flag, to the terror, excess, and madness, which were sought to be imposed on them ; all this had inspired all the healthy portions of the population with a sincere respect for them. The dramatic scenes at the Hôtel de Ville, of which a thousand witnesses had circulated exaggerated accounts through Paris and the departments, had shown the nation that they were not guided by weak tools of sedition, but by men capable of confronting and subduing it. These days, during which a few men struggled against armed masses without wavering, had inspired confidence, and given immense authority to the provisional government. At first only a breath, it had become a power at the Hôtel de Ville. The name of Lamartine, at first the least popular with the mass of the people of Paris, was deeply stamped upon the public imagination by his acts and words. His popularity gained, instead of dying out, by resistance. It became with the people who saw him and heard him constantly a species of inviolability. Public favor, which smooths every path, sustained the government on the brink of so many abysses. Everything seemed to return, of itself, to legality, reason, proportion, and order, through that occult strength which impels all nations to rise as soon as they have fallen : — the regulating instinct of human aggregations, which materialists call the habit of society, which history calls civilization, and philosophy by its true name, the divine law of our nature, the finger of God. It was never more manifest to the spirit, and almost the eye, of the religious man, than in this crisis, in which a people without a government was of itself its own master, its own strength, and its own law.

### III.

But, while the old government was retiring from the soil, and the new government being installed in the interior, the whole of Europe pressed upon the minds of the provisional government. It was time to give it attention. Up to that time the revolution, the republic, the measures against civil war ; the acceptance of the new rule by the departments, the fleet, the army, and Algeria ; the laborious reëstablishment of order in Paris ; the supply of this capital ; the creation of workshops ; the organization of succor for three millions of mouths without bread ; the reorganization of the ministry ; the preparatory measures for the formation of the new National Guard,



to embrace all the resident population : in fine, the reknitting and extension of the whole net-work of administration over a country of so many millions of souls ; the daily exhaustion and supply of the treasury ; the completion of the army ; the protection of the frontiers ; the superintendence of the harbors ; the addresses and consultations ; the tumultuous deputations and seditious assaults to be received and repulsed in the heart of the Hôtel de Ville, incessantly crowded up and receiving crowds, had occupied the government both night and day.

#### IV.

It was only on the evening of the sixth day that Lamartine was able to leave the Hôtel de Ville, and go and take possession of the ministry of foreign affairs. The minister of the interior, and the other ministers, who were at the same time members of the government, intrusted with vast administrative details, and various duties of the greatest urgency, had assumed the direction of their departments on the evening of the 24th. That of foreign affairs could wait, without inconvenience, until France had become satisfied. The presence of the minister, brought into the most constant contact with the people, was more necessary at the centre of the revolution than in the cabinet of his hotel.

On the 27th he had named M. Bastide under-secretary of state for his department. He had requested him to go, in his name, and secure the evacuation of the hotel, occupied by combatants, and protected by a detachment of National Guards of the 1st legion. The voluntary zeal of these citizens, and the spontaneous respect of the people for the principal branches of their national organization, had prevailed over their anger against the dwelling-place of a fugitive minister. The hotel had been invaded, but the interior respected. The personal property, the cabinet, and the archives, had remained untouched. M. Bastide was a man of coolness and resolution. His name was rendered popular by a long republican opposition in the National. He had a reputation for probity, which he deserved. The people knew M. Bastide. Lamartine did not know him before the 24th of February. During the first tumults of the first night, and the assaults of the second day, he had been struck by the attitude, the good sense, and the inflexibility of a man of lofty stature, severe features, and the bearing of a soldier whose duty is self-imposed. He thought this man

would be a valuable auxiliary in a revolution which promised to be a daily struggle, prolonged for many months, against demagoguism, and whose leaders wished to remain pure, or die. He had calculated, moreover, that the name of Bastide, a republican of old date, would, by its note, cover the name of Lamartine, whose republicanism, till then purely philosophical, would be readily suspected by the multitude. Under the eyes of Bastide, no treason against the republic was to be feared. The minister might moderate the revolution in its relations to Europe, restrain war, and save the blood of France and humanity, without being accused of surrendering the revolution. Bastide had modestly accepted a post which he thought superior to his abilities. As for his ambition, he had none but that of serving his cause, and of sacrificing to it his blood and his tranquillity. His words and character touched Lamartine, as if he had found the somewhat disfigured statue of incorruptibility in a time of intrigue, effeminacy, and corruption.

## V.

Lamartine took to the field of battle the chief of his special cabinet. This was Payer, who had not left the Hôtel de Ville, the council-table, or the steps of Lamartine, in the most critical moments, since the evening of the 24th. Young, active, honest, intrepid, and devoted, Lamartine selected him without knowing him otherwise than by sight. He did not repent of his selection. In such a juncture hours count as years; a flash reveals to you a talent. When you place your hand upon a man you are rarely deceived, because you take character in action.

On entering the ministry of foreign affairs, he found the hotel occupied by detachments of National Guards and combatants. Bastide had established military order in the service. It was a garrison rather than a ministerial hotel. Men bivouacked in the courts, ante-chambers, and halls, and on the staircases.

The cabinet and chamber of M. Guizot were opened to the new ministry. His shadow was still there. The chamber, bed, tables, furniture, and scattered papers, in the state in which the man of the monarchy had left them on the night of the 23d, showed the precipitate departure of a minister who thinks to go out for a moment, and leaves his post forever. A female friend of the former minister accompanied Lamartine in this first

inspection of the apartments. She requested, in the name of the mother and children of the exile, the private papers, the mementos dear to the husband or father, the articles which belonged personally to the minister, and the little money he left behind. Lamartine had these possessions of the heart restored with respectful inviolability to the lady who represented the family of M. Guizot, and hastened to leave this chamber, where two governments had met and surprised each other, so to speak, within so few hours. Without hatred to the dethroned family, without animosity against an eminent man, whose very fall would have softened enmity had he harbored it, Lamartine beheld, in this inventory, only a melancholy sport of political vicissitude, the versatility of a people, the eclipse of a lofty fortune and great talent, the mourning of a family, and the emptiness of a house so lately full and joyous. He recoiled from taking possession of an apartment which had just brought misfortune to its guests. He was not superstitious, but he was a man of feeling. He was not afraid of the presages, but the reminiscences, recorded by these walls. He had mattresses spread in the dark and naked chambers of the ground floor, and preferred encamping there to installing himself in a palace which consumed its possessors.

## VI.

On examining the political papers left by the minister of the monarchy on the table of the business cabinet, he perceived his own name. Curiosity attracted his eyes. It was a little note made by M. Guizot for his last speech in the Chamber of Deputies. It contained these words :—"The longer I listen to M. de Lamartine the more I feel that we can never come to an understanding." The revolution had interrupted the discussion, and submerged the tribune, before the reply. Strange sport of chance, which had thrown this note of M. Guizot on the table and caused it to be found by his successor! Lamartine did not triumph at it. In this ministry, where he had been thrown by the wave of a revolution, he did not see a spoil, but an accident, a work, and a devotion. He passed a part of the night in reflecting on the attitude he ought to assume for the republic externally.

## VII.

The republic, as Lamartine understood it, was not an overthrow, at all hazards, of France and the entire world. It was an accession, revolutionary, accidental, and sudden in form, but regular in its development of democracy; a progress in the paths of philosophy and humanity; a second and happier attempt of a great people to extricate itself from the tutelage of dynasties, and to learn the lesson of self-government.

War, far from being an advancement of humanity, is a wholesale murder, which retards, afflicts, decimates, and dishonors it. Those nations who sport with blood are instruments of ruin, and not instruments of life, in the world. They increase, but they increase against the designs of God, and end by losing in one day of justice all they have acquired by years of violence. Illegitimate murder is no less a crime in a nation than in an individual. Conquest and glory adorn, but do not make it innocent. Now every national crime is a false foundation, which does not advance, but which engulfs, civilization. Under this philosophical, moral, and religious point of view, — and in politics the loftiest is always the most correct point of view, — Lamartine was unwilling to confer war upon the new republic as a tendency or a diversion. A bloody diversion belongs only to tyrants or Machiavellis.

In a republican point of view Lamartine was no less opposed to war. He foresaw too clearly the instability of the people whose history he had just written, not to know that the republic would perish by the first brilliant victory it should achieve before time and manners had rooted it. A victorious general, returning to Paris, escorted by the popularity of his name, and supported by the attachment of a numerous party, would receive either ostracism or a dictatorship. Ostracism would be the shame, dictatorship the end, of liberty. Finally, in a political and national point of view, Lamartine considered offensive war as fatal to the institution of the republic itself, and as fatal to the nation.

## VIII.

The situation of Europe was as follows: the treaties of 1815, the basis of European public right, had driven back France within territorial limits too narrow for her pride, perhaps for her activity. These treaties had also sequestered her in a



diplomatic isolation and deprivation of alliance which rendered her constantly gloomy and uneasy. The restoration, a government imposed as much as accepted, might have renounced these alliances, and created a French system on the continent and on the seas, either by an alliance with Germany against Russia and England, or by a coalition with Russia against England and Austria. In the former event, France would have obtained developments in Savoy, Switzerland, and the Prussian-Rhenish provinces, by concessions granted to Austria in Italy and on the lower Danube and the shore of the Adriatic.

In the latter event, France would have stifled Austria between herself and Russia; she would have expanded liberally in Italy, resumed Belgium and the frontiers of the Rhine, and advanced on Spain, Constantinople, the Black Sea, the Dardanelles; and the Adriatic, conceded to Russian ambition, would have secured these extensions to her. Russian alliance is the cry of nature. It is a geographical revelation. It is the alliance of war for the eventualities of the future of two great races — the equilibrium of peace by two great weights at the extremities of the continent, compressing the centre, and confining England as a satellite power on the ocean and in Asia. The restoration, by its monarchical and anti-revolutionary power, gave pledges to one or the other of these alliances. It was of the legitimate family of kings. It was related to thrones, and could not menace them without the overthrow of its own nature.

## IX.

The Orleans dynasty would have liked to hold these conditions of moral security for the reigning houses, and to naturalize itself speedily in the families of sovereigns, but it bore two stains which caused it to be recognized and feared: an appearance of usurpation in its accession to the throne, and a semi-revolutionary character in its election in 1830. Russia repulsed its advances; Austria exacted a high price for its tolerance; Prussia watched it. England alone accepted it, but on conditions of subordination, and sometimes of humiliating complicity with British policy. Odious to the revolution it had plundered; suspected by the people, who expected nothing of it; a source of anxiety to kings, who reproached with the usurpation of a throne; it could have only an isolated, personal and temporary policy of truce with all the world, and alliance with none. Its very fall, while alarming kings, gave them a sort of

secret satisfaction, in contradiction with their interests, but in accordance with their nature. There was vengeance in this joy of reigning houses. The revolution of February seemed an expiation to all of them. Their politics suffered, but their hearts dilated.

Russia, which had no contact with France, gave herself little concern about a revolution in Paris. She was too well convinced of the material impossibility of an intervention of France in Poland, so long as Germany would not open the road, and would not be an auxiliary to the independence of the Poles.

Austria would be alarmed. But the eminent statesman who had governed the Austrian monarchy for twenty years, Prince de Metternich, had adopted for a long time a servile policy, which set everything to sleep around him, and left monarchical fatality to govern in his stead. A man of experience, but worn down, he had seen the fortunes of Austria rise and fall so often that he no longer troubled himself with their fluctuations. Thus Hungary, Croatia, Gallicia, Bohemia and Italy, were rapidly disintegrating under his hand, and the influence of the house of Austria was touching its decadence. The republic agitated without dispelling this somnolency.

Prussia was the sensitive, living, and active point on that side; it was on the Prussian cabinet that England applied the lever of her continental diplomacy; it was also through this court that Russia acted on Germany: but the Prussian populations, disturbed at the British ascendancy over them, mortified by Russian omnipotence, excited by the ambition of governing Germany, and penetrated, through their Rhenish provinces, by the contagion of liberal and constitutional ideas, leaned towards France. They drew their statesmen in the same direction; the republic seemed to them the advent of a double destiny for Prussia: the constitutional system, instead of a military monarchy; ascendancy over Austria, instead of a secondary part, little consistent with their army and their civilization. The anxiety which Prussia might feel with regard to her Rhenish provinces did not overcome these enjoyments of national ambition. Should she lose her provinces by their reënnexation to the French centre, she saw compensation in Germany, Hanover, Holstein, and elsewhere.

## X.

As for England, she had at first favored the Orleans dynasty, because that dynasty, poorly established, must for a long time

cause France to oscillate, and hold Europe in a system of indecision and umbrage, which the British cabinet could employ to their advantage. But the ministry of M. Thiers, in 1840, by vainly threatening to dispute with England her natural road to the East Indies, and her necessary ascendancy in Egypt, had alienated England, irritated the national spirit of the two nations, revived old prejudices, and brought out old animosities, which had been but poorly healed. This ministry, it is true, had wisely recoiled from war at the last moment, and finished the quarrel by the humiliating vote of the 8th of October. But distrust had remained in the midst of reconciliation.

England had seen the king raising the fortifications of Paris, and encouraging, by voice and gesture, the singing of the *Marseillaise*, that tocsin of extreme war. She had withdrawn nearer to Russia. The ministry of M. Guizot at first made every concession to regain her confidence. This minister, at first a favorite of England, because he seemed to have been formed on the model of the statesmen of Great Britain, and because he assumed, with great haughtiness of attitude and talent, the part of a tory of the revolution, had also lost ground in the opinion of the English.

As the ambassador to London during the belligerent ministry of M. Thiers, M. Guizot had been in the eminently false position of a man who wishes for peace, and threatens his friends with war in a bad cause. Recalled to France, by the king and the conservatives, to repair faults of which he had been himself guilty, as a member of the parliamentary coalition at Paris, and as M. Thiers' ambassador at London, his situation was false in France, and false yet in London. He was compelled at once to maintain and repudiate, up to a certain point, what he had said at the tribune in opposition, and what he had done at London as agent of the ministry of 1840; and he had at the same time to reassure, caress and pacify, the conservative party, of which he had again become the chief. There is no human genius which is equal to the extent of a false position. M. Guizot, while doing full justice to England on the Egyptian question, was impelled, by the necessity of regaining a certain popularity against England elsewhere, to disturb her by a struggle of influence in Spain. He thus served or flattered the ambition of the king's family — he showed him one crown more for his house at Madrid.

The impolitic marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with the sister of the Queen of Spain, — prepared as an intrigue, sud-

denly discovered as a snare, and afterwards proclaimed as a victory, — had offended England deeply. This coolness of England had forced the cabinet of the Tuileries to draw near to Austria, by making her concessions in the affairs of Switzerland, contrary to the security of France, to the independence of nations, and yet more to the spirit of the revolution. The marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with the Spanish princess would inevitably bring about a rupture with England, and a war of succession, in which France would have to lavish its treasure and blood for a purely dynastic influence. This marriage bore in itself such germs of destruction for the policy and for the very throne of Louis Philippe, that they struck all diplomatists. The day when this pretended triumph of the dynasty of Orleans became known, Lamartine exclaimed, in the presence of several politicians, "The house of Orleans will have ceased to reign in France, from having wished to reign also in Spain. Before two years there will be a revolution at Paris."

## XI.

England was sure then to see without pain the downfall of a dynasty which, after having long flattered it, had once menaced it in Egypt, and another time deceived it in Spain. The republic was received without repugnance at London. The statesmen of England were sufficiently impartial, sufficiently sensible, and sufficiently versed in history, to comprehend that fifty years of revolution, of experience, of liberty, and of progress in public opinion, would place between the new republic and the republic of 1793 the difference that there is between reason and madness, between an explosion and an institution. A nation like France brings into its revolution only what it has in its nature. The republic of the 24th of February could be only the France of the day past, in the institutions of the morrow.

Now the entire question of peace or of war for the republic was embraced in the dispositions of England. No coalition is possible if England does not foment it. She holds the continent in her pay from the instant it is in arms. Without England all continental war is but partial; no partial war can disquiet France. Peace, then, was possible; but that it might be certain, two things were requisite, — to respect Belgium, whose independence was at once an English and a Prussian interest; and to respect Germany, whose violation would have



armed Austria against us, in alliance with England, and backed by Russia.

As for Spain, the fall of the Orleans dynasty would at once render both France and England disinterested in their rival pretensions beyond the Pyrenees.

Italy was not yet in commotion. She was beginning only to demand of her princes the first degree of liberty in constitutional institutions, and the first degree of Italian independence in a federal union of their separate trunks of nationality.

But if it was easy for statesmen to comprehend this situation of Europe, and this happy coincidence of the republic with the circumstances of Europe, which permitted the preservation of peace on the continent, it was more difficult to make a young and effervescent revolution, of only a few days' date, comprehend that it must restrain itself, confine itself within its own domestic interior, and thence shine upon the horizon of nations, without at the instant overflowing, and without inflaming, the other states. The treaties of 1815 weighed upon the recollection of France. The disasters of 1813, of 1814, and of 1815, had accumulated, like remorseful pangs of glory, in the popular breast. France, essentially military as it is, was not only weary but ashamed of peace. The revolution seemed to open of itself the gates of war: the army aspired after it; the people sung it; the superabundance of the idle and the active population furnished a motive for it; even fraternity in behalf of the deliverance of oppressed nations seemed to hallow it; the hatred of unreflecting republicans against thrones excited a passion for it; violent statesmen hurled it from their lips and their gestures to the multitude; in fine, empirical statesmen saw in war a precious expedient to seize, in order to retrench the revolutionary allies afforded by the population of cities, in order to make a fortunate diversion from internal agitations, and in order to cast upon the frontier those fire-brands who would destroy each other at home, if they were not scattered upon the continent. Revolutions, it was said, have but a single hour; they must be seized while they are burning; when they are expiring they can be put out with the foot. Mad revolutions have indeed but a single hour, was the reply of the sensible partisans of peace; but revolutions that are humane, moderate, and deliberate, have years and centuries before them: they do not stake the fate of popular liberty and progress upon the turn of a card, in a paroxysm of energy that is too often immoral; they play only a sure game, and they enlist on their side right, reason, the justice of the cause, nations and God.

## XII.

Lamartine was convinced of these truths; he was, moreover, convinced that if France made the first attack, this aggression would be the pretext and the inevitable signal of a coalition of armies, and of a league of kings, against the republic. He did not doubt that the accumulated energy of France would for a long time triumph over this coalition; but history and good sense told him that the offensive war of one people against others ended, sooner or later, in an invasion, even when this people had the soldiers of Napoleon for an army, and the head of Napoleon to lead them. The republic, by bringing about the invasion of France, retarded liberty for fifty years. Besides — and this was his chief consideration — Lamartine knew from history and from nature that every war of one single nation against all others is an extreme and desperate war; that every extreme and desperate war requires from the people which sustains it efforts and means of convulsion as extreme and desperate as the war itself; that efforts and means of this nature can be employed only by a government also extreme and desperate; and that these means are excessive taxes of gold and of blood, forced loans, a paper currency, proscriptions, revolutionary tribunals, and scaffolds. To inaugurate the republic by such a government, was to inaugurate tyranny in place of liberty, crime in place of public virtue, the ruin of the people in place of their salvation. Lamartine and his colleagues would rather have sacrificed their heads to the revolution than to have shed one drop of blood.

Lamartine had, moreover, an absolute faith in the power of honor and right in politics. He knew that almost all wars were only expiations of international injustice. He was persuaded that the justice and respect of the republic towards its neighbors would be for France two armies that would protect the frontiers better than two millions of men, and would propagate the democratic spirit further than the flash of cannon. France is loved by the nations. The attraction which it inspires by its intelligence, its character, and its genius, is one element of its great influence in the world. France disarmed is still the object of universal love. To change this national prestige of love and attraction into fear and into dread of its arms, is to disfigure the nation. The fear that it inspires for a moment is not worth the might of sympathy wherewith God has armed it.

It is the same with democracy, which was about to make a fresh proof of the power of moral contagion over the spirit of nations. Lamartine had a just presentiment that if French democracy were aggressive, and that if it allowed itself, from the first day, to be changed by the spirit of conquest, or to be confounded with national ambition, it would repel instead of attracting. The principle of nationality subdues in men the principle of domestic liberty. Rather than lose their name and their soil, nations would lose their liberal institutions. Thrones would rally them against France, the instant that sovereigns could point them to a single French bayonet invading without right their territory. Besides, what was the nature of the revolution of February? Was it a territorial revolution, or a revolution of ideas? It was evidently a revolution of ideas, a question of internal rule. To change it into a territorial, military revolution of conquest, was to enfeeble it in its principle, to alter and to betray it. A hundred leagues of soil would not have enlarged one idea. It must needs, therefore, be declared fraternal and inoffensive to the nations, whatever might be the government, — despotic, monarchical, mixed, or republican, — of those nations.

But these views were too philosophical to penetrate to themselves the masses in revolt, and impatient to overrun Europe, if they had been presented only by the voice of a minister of foreign affairs and of a government. They were fortunately seconded by the influential men of all the philosophical parties, and even the socialists, to whom history owes this justice, that they served loyally and powerfully, at that time, the ideas of fraternity and of peace. The workmen themselves, predisposed to war by their ardor and their courage, were restored by their doctrines and their theories to the intelligence and the morality of peace. The idea of the organization of labor abated in the masses the idea of war. Socialism stifled the conquest. The people comprehended reason.

### XIII.

Before submitting these views to the provisional government, Lamartine wrote to all the diplomatic agents a short and vague letter, to instruct them to notify the different courts at which they resided of the accession of the French republic.

"The republic," said he to these agents, "has not changed the place of France in Europe. It is ready to resume its connections with other nations."

This expression was inserted in the first communication, as a symptom suited to reassure governments and people respecting the civilized character which the new republic wished to give to foreign policy. Lamartine collected all the employés of his office. "Reassure yourselves," said he to them; "I belong to the revolution, but to a paternal revolution; those among you who wish loyally to serve the republic will be preserved in their functions. The country has not disappeared with royalty. The diplomatists are like the soldiers; they have for their rallying point the flag, and for their permanent duty the defence and greatness of the nation abroad."

However, a revolution, at the moment when it is being accomplished, cannot confide its secrets and its safety to those who must dread it and fight against it in the evening. It would betray itself. Lamartine did not wish to break the mechanism or disperse the individuals who composed this central administration of foreign affairs, which time had organized, and which numbered in its bosom men sure, plausible, experienced and eminent. He left them at their posts, inactive, or employed only in labors of simple routine. He retired to his private cabinet, where he concentrated in himself alone the whole spirit, secret, and conduct, of the diplomacy of the republic.

But these men, so much the more patriotic in heart as they had more exclusively applied their minds to the permanent interest of the country, did not hesitate to adhere with all their patriotism to the republic, as the representative of order and of France. Those even who had retired from a voluntary scruple of honor, such as the director of the political department, M. Desages, a true man, gave to the government the traditions and intelligence which they carried with them. MM. de Viel Castel, Brennier, Cintra, Lesseps, remained at the head of the different departments of labor. They rendered to the government indefatigable services during that long confusion of events and assaults when the hotel of the minister was at once a council and a camp.

#### XIV.

On the other hand, Lamartine recalled successively from abroad all the ambassadors, and nearly all the ministers plenipotentiary. Their presence in the different courts had a double inconvenience. The republic was not recognized; there was danger that their residence near undecided or hostile govern-



ments should be the occasion of coolness, injurious to the establishment of new relations. Besides, these ambassadors were generally politicians, old ministers, personally attached in sentiment and regrets to the fallen royalty. To trust them with the negotiations of the republic, at the very moment when it was struggling against royalty, was to expose it to being badly served. The minister sent, in place of these official agents, secret or confidential agents, chosen from among men of republican opinions, or who were without relations with the fugitive dynasty. He gave to each of them verbal instructions, suited to the countries to which he sent them. These instructions were summed up in these words : Preserve, inform, and give in your conversations with the sovereigns, ministers, and people, its true sense to the new republic ; pacific, if they comprehend it, but terrible, if they insult it.

He confided, further, to each of these foreign agents the plan of diplomacy which he proposed to pursue, in order that each of his envoys, in the necessary vagueness of these instructions, and amidst the uncertain and sudden incidents of their mission, should be initiated in the foreign projects of the republic, and make each of their words and acts accord with the general plan.

To wait with dignity the decision of England, to seek the good-will of Prussia, to observe Russia, to calm Poland, to caress Germany, to avoid Austria, to smile upon Italy without exciting her, to re-assure Turkey, to abandon Spain to herself, — to deceive no one, either by vain fears or hopes, not to speak a word which they would afterwards be obliged to retract, and to make republican honesty the soul of a diplomacy, without ambition, as without weakness, — such were these confidential instructions, by which Lamartine desired that whatever events might occur, the republic should always be found in the right.

He held the same language to the ambassadors, ministers, and *chargés d'affaires*, who represented the different courts at Paris. The rapidity of the revolution, the enthusiasm with which it was unanimously accepted in all France, without a single protesting gesture against such a democracy ; the unanimity of the people, intrepid in action, moderate, clement, and cordial, after their victory ; the spectacle of this capital, where seven men governed thirty-six millions of citizens with only the reins of their eloquence ; the abolition of the penalty of death ; the repudiation of the war-spirit ; the order voluntarily re-established in so few days in the streets ; the inviolability of religion ; the respect for strangers ; the adhesion and depu-

tations from all the departments, all the communes, and all the people who flowed into the Hôtel de Ville, like constant expressions of public opinion; their firm but respectful tone towards nations and governments; the speeches by which Lamartine and his colleagues replied to these declarations of the people, — all these prodigies had made a powerful and happy impression upon the sight and minds of the ambassadors. The enthusiasm for France had gained even upon the enemies of the republic.

These diplomatists, without yet recognizing the new government, had official conversations with the minister of foreign affairs. The umbrage which their governments might have conceived fell, during these conversations, where heart spoke to heart, between men who equally desired to avoid misfortunes for the world and to save the blood of humanity. It was fortunate for the human race that this concert of good intentions, intelligence and wisdom, existed between the provisional government and the representatives of Europe at Paris. Lord Normanby, Ambassador of England; Baron d'Arnim, Minister of Prussia; M. de Kisselef, Minister of Russia; M. d'Apponi, Minister of Austria; M. de Brignole, Minister of Sardinia; the Prince of Ligne, Minister of Belgium; the Papal Nuncio, and all the principal members of the diplomatic corps at Paris, at this time, were fortunately men of great intelligence, foresight, and of peace. The character of statesmen may have as much influence over events as their ideas. Their character is the commentary of their instructions. They predispose their courts to justice and peace.

Secret but kind relations were thus speedily established between the cabinet of Paris and foreign cabinets.

The first symptom of a desire to establish pacific relations with the new French government was a word of the Duke of Wellington addressed to Lamartine, in reply to an indirect and verbal overture, which Lamartine had made through a nephew of that statesman. Lamartine replied by writing to this message, as was proper, and praised the thought of peace from the lips of a warrior. The first impression of England, expressed by her first citizen, was an augury which well might give hope to the world; for when France and England unite to preserve the peace of Europe, no power can disturb it with impunity.

## XV.

It was France that had just been agitated; it was upon France that all eyes were fixed; it was for France to speak the first. Europe, and France herself, waited with anxiety for this first address of the republic to the world. It was prudent and dignified to allow them to wait some days. The republic ought not to hasten towards peace, like a timid power which fears war. It ought to declare it possible, and not implore it as necessary. It should, moreover, assure itself, before proffering terms of peace, that these terms should not be disavowed with insult by the other powers. It would otherwise expose itself to see its advances towards peaceful relations misconstrued. It would have to receive, instead of the sympathy it deserved, the defiance which it would be obliged to take up or avenge. Lamartine, therefore, was in no haste. He drafted the manifesto of the republic during the short intervals of the night which the tumults in the public square left to him. He submitted it, on the 6th of March, to the deliberation of his colleagues, the ministers, and some eminent politicians of republican sentiments, who assisted that day in the deliberations.

The session was solemn. Seven men, sprung a few days before from a tempest, held in their hands peace or war. With a single word they could arm and bring into conflict principles and men over all the earth, or restore serenity to the horizon of the world. Lamartine was determined to make the declaration of peace the absolute condition of his presence in the government. The greater part of his colleagues, as well as the ministers, were no less decided than he. The manifesto was not subject to discussion, as to its principles. All confined themselves to some contested and modified expressions, but were almost unanimously agreed as to the manner in which the republic should declare its interpretation of the treaties of 1815. Louis Blanc himself applauded the fraternal era opened by this manifesto to humanity. The concealed and impatient parties, who were secretly discontented with the pacific resolution of the government, thought themselves so sure that these words were only thrown to the winds, and that the people would soon, of their own accord, make an irruption upon Europe, that they took no pains to oppose the manifesto. The Belgian, Polish and German conventicles were already in motion round some secret leaders, and were prepared to tear this

page of national philosophy, and to load with it the musket of invasion.

The next day this manifesto appeared.

MANIFESTO TO EUROPE.

"You have received intelligence of the events at Paris; of the victory of the people, their heroism, moderation, and tranquillity. Order has been established by the unanimous concurrence of the citizens, as if, during this interregnum of all visible powers, the general good sense of the community alone sufficed for the government of France.

"The French revolution has thus just reached its definite period. France is a Republic: the French republic does not require to be recognized to exist; it springs from a natural right, it is a national right. It is the will of a great nation, which only demands its title from itself. The French republic, however, desiring to enter into the family of the already instituted governments as a regular power, and not as a phenomenon that disturbs European order, it is requisite that you should promptly inform the government to which you are accredited of the principles and tendencies which will henceforth direct the external policy of the French government.

"The proclamation of the French republic is not an act of aggression against any form of government in the world. Forms of government possess a diversity as legitimate as the diversity of character, of geographical situation, and of intellectual, moral, and material development, among the nations: nations, like individuals, have their different ages; the principles which govern them have successive phases. Monarchical, aristocratic, constitutional, and republican governments, are the expression of these different degrees of maturity in the genius of the people.

"They demand more liberty in proportion as they feel themselves more capable of supporting it; they require more equality and democracy in proportion as they are more inspired with justice and love of the people. This is a question of time. A people lose themselves by anticipating this maturity, as they dishonor themselves by allowing it to escape without seizing it. Monarchy and republicanism are not, in the eyes of true statesmen, absolute principles, which mortally oppose each other; they are facts, which contrast with each other, and which may exist face to face, mutually comprehending and respecting each other.



"War, then, is not the principle of the French revolution, as it became its glorious and fatal necessity in 1792. Between 1792 and 1848, there is half a century. To return, after half a century, to the principles of 1792, or to the principle of conquest of the empire, would not be to advance, but to retrograde, with regard to time. The revolution of yesterday is a step in advance, not in retreat; we desire that the world and ourselves should march to fraternity and to peace.

"If the situation of the French republic in 1792 explained the necessity of war, the differences which exist between that epoch of our history and the one in which we now are explain the necessity of peace. These differences you must apply yourself to comprehend, and to make them understood around you.

"In 1792, the nation was not united. Two people existed upon the same territory. A terrible struggle was still prolonged between the classes dispossessed of their privileges, and those which had just conquered equality and liberty. The dispossessed classes united with captive royalty, and with the jealous foreigner, to refuse France its revolution, and again to impose monarchy, aristocracy, and theocracy upon it, by invasion. There are now no longer distinct and unequal classes. Liberty has enfranchised all. Equality has levelled everything in the eyes of the law. Fraternity, the application of which we proclaim, and the benefits of which the National Assembly will soon organize, is about to unite every one. There is not a single citizen in France, to whatever opinion he may belong, who does not rally round the principle of the country before everything, and who does not render her, by this union itself, impregnable against the attacks and alarms of invasion.

"In 1792, it was not the entire people who had entered into possession of their government: it was the middling class only who desired to exercise liberty and to enjoy it. The triumph of the middle class was then egotistical, as is the triumph of every oligarchy. It desired to retain for itself alone the rights conquered by all. It behoved it, for this purpose, to operate a grand diversion to the accession of the people, by precipitating them toward the field of battle, to prevent them from taking possession of their own government. This diversion was war. War was the idea of the monarchists and of the Girondists; it was not that of the more enlightened democrats, who desired, as we do, the sincere, complete, and regular

reign of the people themselves, comprehending, under that name, all classes, without exclusion and without preference, of which the nation is composed.

"In 1792, the people were but the instruments of the revolution, they were not its object. To-day the revolution has been effected by the people and for them. In entering into it, they bring to it their new cares of labor, industry, instruction, agriculture, commerce, morality, comfort, property, cheap living, navigation, and lastly, of civilization, which are all the necessities of peace! The people and peace are one and the same word.

"In 1792, the ideas of France and of Europe were not prepared to comprehend, and to accept, the grand harmony of nations between themselves, as a benefit to the human race. The thought of the past age existed only in the heads of a few philosophers. To-day philosophy is popular. Fifty years of liberty to think, to speak, and to write, have produced their result. Books, journals, and legislative discussions, have performed the apostleship of European intelligence. Reason, shining everywhere, beyond the limits of nations, has created among their minds this grand intellectual nationality, which will be the consummation of the French revolution, and the constitution of international fraternity all over the globe.

"Lastly, in 1792, liberty was a novelty, equality a scandal, and the republic a problem. The rights of the people, scarcely discovered by Fénelon, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, were so forgotten, hidden, and profaned, by the old feudal dynasty and sacerdotal traditions, that the most legitimate interference of the people in their affairs appeared monstrous to statesmen of the old school. Democracy made thrones and the foundations of societies tremble at the same time. To-day thrones and nations are accustomed to the motto, to the forms, and to the regular agitations of liberty, exercised in diverse proportion in almost all states, even in those which are monarchical. They will habituate themselves to the republic which is its complete form among more matured nations. They will recognize that there is a conservative liberty; they will acknowledge that there can be found in the republic, not only better order, but more true order in this government of all for all than in the government of a few for a few.

"But, exclusive of these disinterested considerations, the interest alone of the consolidation and the duration of the republic would inspire the statesmen of France with thoughts of peace

It is not the country which runs the greatest danger in war; it is liberty. War is almost always a dictatorship; — soldiers forget institutions for men; — thrones tempt the ambitious; — glory dazzles patriotism. The prestige of a glorious name veils the design upon national sovereignty; the republic doubtless desires glory, but she desires it for herself, and not for Cæsars, or Napoleons.

“Do not, however, deceive yourself; these ideas which the provisional government charge you to present to the powers, as a pledge for European security, have not for their object to obtain the pardon of the republic for its audacity in daring to spring to life; still less to sue humbly for the position of a great right and a great people in Europe: they have a far more noble object: — to make sovereigns and nations reflect — to prevent them from involuntarily deceiving themselves as to the character of our revolution; to bestow true light and a just appearance upon the event; to give, in short, some pledges to humanity, before giving them to our rights and our honor, if they were misunderstood, or menaced.

“The French republic, then, will not provoke war with any one; it has no need to say that it will accept it, should conditions of war be imposed upon the French people. The idea of the men who govern France at present is this: — that France will be fortunate, if war should be declared against her, and if she be thus constrained to increase in power and glory, in spite of her moderation! A terrible responsibility for France, if the republic itself declares war without being provoked to it! In the first case, her martial genius, her impatience of action, and her force, that has been augmented by so many years of peace, would render her invincible at home, dreaded, perhaps, beyond her frontiers. In the second case, she would turn against herself the remembrance of her conquests, which alienates the affections of nations, and compromises her first and most universal alliance — the spirit of the people and the genius of civilization.

“After these principles, Monsieur, which are the principles of France, upon calm reflection — principles which she can present without fear and without defiance to her friends and to her enemies — you will do well to impress on your mind the following declarations: —

“The treaties of 1815 no longer exist as a right in the eyes of the French republic; nevertheless, the territorial limits of these treaties form a fact which she admits as a basis, and as a

point of departure in her relations with other nations. But if the treaties of 1815 exist no longer, save as facts to be modified by general agreement, and if the republic openly declares that it has the right and mission to attain regularly and pacifically these modifications, the good sense, the moderation, the conscience, and the prudence of the republic exist, and are for Europe a better and more honorable guarantee than the letters of those treaties which it has so often violated or modified.

"Endeavor, Monsieur, to cause this emancipation of the republic from the treaties of 1815 to be comprehended and admitted in good faith, and to show that this frank declaration possesses nothing inimical to the repose of Europe.

"Thus, we openly declare:—If the hour of the reconstruction of certain oppressed nations in Europe, or elsewhere, should appear to us to have sounded in the decrees of Providence; if Switzerland, our faithful ally since the time of Francis I., were constrained or threatened in the movement of aggrandizement, which she is forming at home, to lend further power to the fasces of democratic governments; if the independent states of Italy were invaded; if limits or obstacles were imposed upon their interior changes; if the right of uniting among themselves to consolidate an Italian country were contested by an armed hand—the French republic would conceive itself entitled to arm itself to protect these legitimate movements of augmentation, and of nationality among the nations. The republic, you see, has passed, at the first step, the era of proscriptions and dictatorships. It has resolved never to conceal liberty at home. It has equally resolved never to veil its democratic principle abroad. It will allow no one to interfere between the pacific halo of its liberty and the regard of nations. It proclaims itself the intellectual and cordial ally of all the rights, of all the progress, and of all the legitimate developments of the institutions of nations who desire to live under the same principle as its own. It will make no secret propagation or incendiarism among its neighbors. It knows that no liberty is durable, save that which is born upon its own grounds. But it will exercise, by the light of its ideas, and by the spectacle of the order and peace which it hopes to display to the world, the sole and honest proselytism—the proselytism of esteem and sympathy. This is not war; it is nature. It is not the agitation of Europe; it is life. It is not inflaming the world; it is shining from its place upon the horizon of nations, at once to precede and to guide them.

"We desire, for the sake of humanity, that peace should be



preserved. We hope it also. One single question of war had been agitated, a year ago, between France and England. It was not republican France which started this warlike question; it was the dynasty. That dynasty bears with it that danger of war which it had occasioned in Europe, by the wholly personal ambition of its family alliances in Spain. Thus this domestic policy of the fallen dynasty, which weighed for seventeen years upon our national dignity, weighed down, at the same time, by its pretensions to another crown at Madrid, our liberal alliances and peace. The republic has no ambition. The republic has no nepotism. It does not inherit the pretensions of a family. Let Spain govern itself; let Spain be independent and free. France, for the solidity of this natural alliance, relies more upon the conformity of principles than upon the successions of the house of Bourbon!

"Such is, Monsieur, the spirit of the council of the republic. Such will invariably be the character of the frank, firm, and moderate policy which you will have to represent.

"The republic pronounced at its birth, and in the midst of the heat of a contest not provoked by the people, three words, which have revealed its soul, and which will invoke upon its cradle the benedictions of God and of man — Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. She gave, on the following day, by the abolition of death-penalty in political matters, the true commentary of these three words at home. Give them also their true commentary abroad. The sense of these three words, applied to our exterior relations, is this: the enfranchisement of France from the chains which confined her principles and dignity; the recovery of the rank which she ought to occupy in the scale of the great European powers; and, lastly, the declaration of alliance and friendship with all nations. If France has the consciousness of her part in the liberal and civilizing mission of the age, there is not one of these words which signifies *war*. If Europe be prudent and just, there is not one word which does not betoken *peace*.

LAMARTINE."

## XVI.

This manifesto was received by all France with applause, by Europe with respect. It gave to the republic its attitude, to democracy its voice, to war its signification if it must arise, to peace its dignity if it must subsist. It made the democracy a portion, unlike but integral, of the European system, which,

without violently menacing governments founded on another principle, would rally successively to the French principle those nations which had arrived at different degrees of liberty. It was the reason of the revolution taking and defining its position in the face of the world, instead of its madness convulsing Europe in 1793. The manifesto did not create a single case of war beyond the rights of nations. It abolished several. It abolished, above all, ambition and conquests.

The effect that Lamartine anticipated from this attitude, and the results that he had promised to the government, were not slow in being developed throughout Europe. We shall soon review them.

## XVII.

But this diplomatic attitude of the government required an armed attitude corresponding to the contingencies which might ensue. The minister of foreign affairs asked for armaments of safety proportioned to the possible dangers or precautions rendered imperative by his position.

Spain did not yet explain herself. Secret informations disclosed far from friendly dispositions at Madrid. Musters of troops on the other side of the Pyrenees were mentioned. The recent marriage of the Duke of Montpensier with the Queen of Spain's sister must have established an interest and intimacy between the proscribed dynasty of France and the Spanish government, which might be changed to hostilities. It was announced that the princes of the house of Orleans would seek refuge in Spain. Their presence indicated some confused ideas of an armed restoration from that quarter. The minister demanded the immediate formation of an army of observation for the Pyrenees, consisting of from fifteen to twenty thousand men. This army was decreed.

Italy, already agitated at its extremity by the revolution of Naples, which had preceded that of Paris, would probably feel the recoil of the republic. The Pope, by his words and acts, had awakened the spirit of independence, and hatred to Austria. This well-meaning, but, at the same time, rash and timid pontiff, already found difficulty in restraining the movement he had sanctioned. He only wished to warm the torpid body of central Italy. He had thrown in a spark, and the breath which the events in Paris unloosed upon the world was about to fan the flame the Pope himself had kindled.

Tuscany would inevitably feel the influence. Although free and happy, in fact, under the municipal and paternal government of the descendant of Leopold, she would wish to change this fact into right, and these habits of liberty into institutions.

Venice and Genoa thrilled at the name of republic, which recalled to them their former glory.

Finally, Piedmont, the only military power of Italy, had been, for a long time, prepared for war. The ambition of her king dreamed of two titles—that of the liberator, and that of the protector of Italy. Fluctuating for two years between the Austrian alliance, which made him a satellite of servitude, and the French alliance, which would make him a ruler of the peninsula; drawn in one direction by the sacerdotal influence, which had made him the proscriber and jailer of liberalism, and, in another, by the liberal spirit of his people, which sought to make him a pioneer and a constitutional prince, —to what side would he incline? If he declared himself hostile to the republic, and was willing to make his army of a hundred thousand men a vanguard of Austria against us, it would be necessary to watch him at the gates of Savoy and the shore of the Alps. If he wished himself to raise the standard of Italian independence, it would be necessary to provide equally against his defeat or his victory. One or the other might equally draw us involuntarily into Italy. An army of observation, called the army of the Alps, ready for every contingency, whether to cover the Alps, from the Var to Grenoble, or to pass beyond them, was demanded by the prudence, as well as by the energy, of the republic. The minister asked for the immediate formation of this army of sixty-two thousand men. The government did not hesitate.

The presence of this army at the foot of the Alps, and in the valley of the Rhone, had also its internal motive.

The republic might be menaced, either by attempts at monarchical restoration, for the benefit of the elder branch of the Bourbons in the south; or by detachments from the army of Algiers, led by their affection for the princes, and landing with them upon the southern shores; or by the anarchical agitations by which Toulon, Marseilles, Avignon, and Arles, cities of the south, had saddened the first republic; or, finally, and particularly, by socialist movements, similar to those which had broken forth in the capital of industry, at Lyons, in 1830 and 1832. An armed, movable, disciplined, and imposing

force would thus present an external and internal front at once.

Finally, he asked for an army of a hundred thousand men, distributed on the Rhine, and destined to observe Germany, and to be connected with a northern army of thirty thousand men, to cover or cross our frontiers, according as the movements of Belgium, Prussia, or Austria, should call for precaution or for action on our part.

### XVIII.

The provisional government adopted all these measures. On the 3d of March, it created a committee of defence, composed of the most eminent generals, without distinction of opinion. The French army was above suspicion. The sentiment of gratitude, which some of its chiefs might retain towards the princes, was extinguished by the sentiment of patriotism. The government did not ask them if they were republicans. It knew that they were Frenchmen.

Marshal Bugeaud had written, after the first days, to Lamartine, in terms worthy of his character and rank, to give in his adhesion to the republic. Lamartine answered him, that the republic was France; that she was proud and strong in all her children; that she hoped to have no occasion of drawing the sword, but, if it were drawn on her, she would confide the most important point, that is, the Rhine, to a general whose name, bravery, and talents, were dear to the army, and imposing to Europe. The marshal felt that his share in the existing government could only be justified by war. The recent attachment he had shown to banished royalty, the services he had rendered it, the military frankness of his regrets, finally, the susceptibility of the people, and the reserve imposed on the government itself, counselled Marshal Bugeaud to a temporary absence, until the time when the republic, ratified by the General Assembly, would no longer offer an inducement to a general to play the discreditable part of Monk. But General Lamoricière, General Oudinot, and General Bedeau, were summoned to this committee of the government. These three generals had not hesitated a moment to rally round the republic, after having satisfied the claims of their honor in their duty to royalty.

The government were frequently present at the deliberations of this committee of war, to impress on it their ideas, inspira-



tions and energy. Lamartine's opinion was, that they should instantly recall forty or fifty thousand men from the army of Africa, which then amounted to a hundred thousand. He thought that a hundred thousand men in Africa, to protect an almost uninhabited colony against a few tribes without chief, government or army, was at least a useless and burthensome luxury, at the period of a European crisis; that fifty thousand men would be enough to guard this colony; that if we had a war with England, these hundred thousand men, cut off from their mother country, would end as the army of Egypt ended, after Bonaparte; that if we had peace, still this armed peace upon the continent would impose on the treasury the weight of fifty thousand soldiers, who must be raised, armed and equipped, to supply the place of the fifty thousand men whose return he demanded; and lastly, that he thought that the troops of Africa, already disciplined, and inured to war, would be worth double the number of young soldiers, or new recruits, on the Alps or Rhine.

The African generals opposed an invincible resistance to this reduction of our active forces in Algeria. Lamartine was irritated at a predilection which appeared to him a systematic paralysis of a portion of the forces which prudence and policy ought to concentrate on the very soil of the republic. A battle in Belgium, on the Rhine, or in Piedmont, lost through the absence of fifty thousand men, would destroy the republic. A few more or less fortunate skirmishes in Algeria would only lose a desert, readily reconquered after peace. Obstinate discussions were renewed and prolonged. Sharp words and objections were exchanged between General Lamoricière and Lamartine. At that time, Lamartine distrusted this young general. He suspected not his sincerity, but his connections. He believed he was intimately associated with the party the most implacable in its resentment to the revolution. He saw afterwards that he was mistaken, and this general, as brave in action as capable in council, spared his blood no more than his word or popularity for the safety of the government.

General Bedeau, and General Oudinot, both worthy of the highest commands, at that time attempted to justify their brothers in arms, and to destroy the unjust doubts which infected Lamartine's mind. The government, partly satisfying the minister of foreign affairs, decreed that twenty thousand men at first, afterwards ten thousand, should be recalled from Algiers, and replaced on the African soil by soldiers of the new levies.

The minister of war, General Subervie, was president of this committee of national defence. A young colonel of the staff, M. Charras, was the secretary. The measures of this committee were not only accepted, but elicited and urged with an ardor which resembled impatience, by the unanimity of government. The reorganization of our forces was pressing. Algeria had absorbed everything; the preceding government was constructed for peace. We do not bring it as an accusation. The republic, at its birth, had to reconstruct military France, in the twofold forethought of peace and war. That she might be at once erect, like France in 1792, and laborious, like France in 1847, it was necessary that her active and paid force should be only the vanguard of her armed population. With this view, Lamartine already suggested the creation of three hundred battalions of Mobile Guards, in the departments, enrolled, disciplined, and armed, in their homes, and ready to act as a reserve on our frontiers, or as the moderating force of the republic within. He finally realized this idea at a later date. Voted by the National Assembly, and for the time abandoned by the governments which succeeded the provisional government, this project would have given the republic a force of order everywhere present within, a defensive force promptly active without. It would be, in the opinion of Lamartine, a perpetual confederation of the departments, of property and society, against anti-social factions and anti-French coalitions.

### XIX.

The army, on the first of March, consisted, as registered, of three hundred and seventy thousand men, of whom ninety thousand were in Algeria, without counting the native forces. The number of fighting men was not less than three hundred and thirty-six thousand, of whom eighty-two thousand were in Algeria. This number seemed sufficient for the purely contingent necessities of a government which was resolved not to assume offensive operations. But when the government asked the generals on what active forces they could immediately rely, either for a campaign on the Rhine or an expedition beyond the Alps, the number was so reduced by garrisons, the defence of the coast and the colonies, and in efficient men, that the minister of foreign affairs and his colleagues trembled at the impotence of the country, should they be surprised by accidents. To gain time, whatever the partisans of aggressive

warfare might say, would therefore be to gain strength. It would save at once the blood of France and the destinies of the republic.

The government, while gaining time against Europe, did not suffer it to slip away. They resolved to raise the army to five hundred and eighty thousand men. All their orders, all their appeals, all their purchases of horses, all the vigils of the two ministers of war who followed each other, General Subervie and M. Arago, tended to this amount. Every week and month brought us near to it. On the 1st of April, we reckoned three hundred and thirty-eight thousand fighting men; the 1st of May, three hundred and forty-eight thousand; the 1st of June, four hundred thousand. The measures decreed by government, and executed, as fast as possible, by M. Arago, M. Charras, General Cavaignac, and General Lamoricière, carried this amount, before the end of the year, to beyond five hundred thousand men. The number of horses, which was forty-six thousand on the 1st of March, was sixty thousand in July, and seventy-five thousand in November. The Mobile and Republican Guard, a corps of circumstance, got up on the spur of the moment, armed, disciplined, and of extraordinary intrepidity, mounted and equipped, in Paris, consisted of twenty thousand men, who came out of the streets excellent soldiers, created by popular emotions.

General Duvivier, a philosophic and republican soldier, had been intrusted by the government with the organization and command of this Mobile Guard. Never had general been required to form an army, to preserve order in a revolutionary capital, out of more confused, intangible and turbulent elements. Never in so short a time, so few weeks, was a more difficult task more marvellously accomplished. His battalions, composed principally of the sons of the people of Paris, came out of his hands, every hour, still in rags, but already soldiers. General Duvivier received them from sympathy; the government from confidence. They saved Paris daily from itself. Paris admired and adored them. They were the heroic pupils of the republic, and later, the heroes and saviors of social order. Their generals, Duvivier and Damesme, died at their head. They alone sustained the weight of the three first months of sedition, everywhere repressed or restrained. They made a rampart of their battalions, for the government, on the 16th of April. They surrounded the Assembly on its arrival. They reconquered it on the 15th of May, with the National Guard.

They lavished their blood for it on the 23d of June. They reöpened the gates of Paris to the army, and prided themselves on subordination to their elders in the family of camps. They deserved to be adopted by the National Assembly, instead of being subjected to dispersion and oblivion. But if the moment is forgetful, history remembers. The page of the Garde Mobile will be inscribed with its services, and written with drops of its blood.

## XX.

While General Subervie, General Duvivier, and the generals of the committee of defence, were thus seconding the efforts of the government to reörganize our land-forces, M. Arago, whose name flattered the pride of the navy, was maintaining with a firm hand the discipline of our fleets; was fortifying our squadrons, arming our ports, yielding the unreserved confidence of government to all the officers of this choice army, whose honor guaranteed their fidelity to the republic. With views at once patriotic and pacific, he caused the flag of our vessels to float over the shores of the Mediterranean.

## XXI.

But such great developments given to our national forces, in order to prevent all surprise on land and on sea, all hazard of invasion, and all insult to the republic, required correspondent efforts on the part of the treasury.

The government had found the finances in a situation which would have been heavy already, in ordinary times, and which would have rendered necessary, before a few months, a loan of six millions. A loan exacts credit. Revolutions are the eclipses of credit, because they terrify, not only interests, but imaginations; imaginations terrified, tighten the hands which hold the gold in an industrial nation. The prudent men of the government were preöccupied, before all, with the financial question. They knew that every revolution would be characterized by violence or by moderation, according to the first financial measures which should be adopted by government, at the outset.

They declared openly that there were only two means of enabling the republic to pass this abyss of an unforeseen revolution, without precipitating into it the public fortune; a dictatorship, armed with the instrument of punishment, or credit.



A dictatorship, armed with the instrument of punishment, might make bankruptcy, assignats, maximums, and sustain these desperate measures against fortune, by an appeal to the poor against the rich. The forces of execution were not wanting. The single fact of the sudden and complete revolution, accomplished without resistance by the arms of proletaries; two hundred thousand working-men in Paris, who might be excited some time against fortune, as they were rendered enthusiastic for virtue; two millions of unclassed laboring people, on the surface of the republic, asking for bread, in our manufacturing towns, to which the workshops would withdraw and intrench themselves;—these were elements of terror for the moneyed classes, and of irresistible compression for a desperate government. There was nothing that such a government would not feel itself strong enough to do during the first months of the republic. It had behind it the impulse and weight of a revolution, which would have impelled it towards abysses, but which impelled it with resistless force. If it did not take up with tyranny, it was because it was wise enough to despise, and politic enough to fear it. It was daily more difficult to refuse than to assume it. One word from it, at this moment, would make all France bow. "We have enough to do all the evil that man could imagine," said Lamartine to Dupont de l'Eure. "As for good, that is a different affair. It is accomplished slowly, by rule and proportion." It was not, therefore, the means of operating upon fortune that disturbed the provisional government. These means were superabundant.

But all these means,—bankruptcy, assignats, forced loans, taxes on the rich, decimation of capital, sequestrations, proprietary confiscations imposed as protections to proprietors,—exact violence against all property. The wise and moderate members of the government knew that from violence against property to violence against persons there was only the distance from the evening to the morrow. Each of these measures would have caused scarcity of money, exhausted the taxes, killed credit, and annihilated labor. To recover money, taxes, credit, and labor, would require legal processes. Legal prosecutions would have produced resistance on the part of the taxed. Resistance would have rendered impeachments, condemnations, fines, and imprisonment necessary. From thence to the scaffold would be but one step. This step taken, blood would flow. The first drop shed by the republic, in the name of the republic,

would reöpen the sluices of blood. Humanity would be sacrificed, the revolution perverted, liberty dishonored, France given up to crime, the rich to terror, the poor to civil war, the republic to the execration of the future.

These ideas, constantly present to the mind of the members of government, and strongly re-stated in the council by politicians and financiers, left no hesitation possible with the majority of the council. On the first measure of this nature which should have been decreed, wise men would have retired to repudiate the crime and disgrace. To retire would have been to surrender the republic to chance, Paris to instantaneous convulsions, and France to lictors. No one could think of it without a shudder.

Meanwhile, it was discouraging to examine the treasury. It could only be filled as fast as it was emptied, by daily sources as abundant and inexhaustible as the pressing necessities which drained it. There were on hand, on the 25th of February, 190,000,000 francs. It was a sum much smaller than that which the vaults commonly contain in that month, which precedes the month of March, when the revenue is paid, and the receipts are commonly accumulated. If the treasury had shown the least hesitation in fulfilling its engagements, the word bankruptcy, equivalent to that of ruin with the people, would have instantly circulated from mouth to mouth, frozen all minds, shut up all capital, closed all money-chests, and decimated all the taxes. We should have reached danger in a few days. It was necessary to show confidence, to inspire it. The name of the minister of finance gave it to the capitalists and bankers of Paris. M. Goudchaux had probity, inflexible scruples, rectitude of intention, experience in credit and intrepidity to resist all systematic schemes, and ideas calculated to insure all that could and ought to be insured in that sphere of affairs. He was the man for such a moment, — a financial regularity in the midst of a political revolution. But he had the defect inseparable from his good qualities, credit as sensitive as his soul. He was too keenly alarmed at the doctrines put forth by those surrounding the government, who saw what they called the organization of labor in tyranny applied to capital. The addresses of industrial socialism, at the Luxembourg, — addresses which evaporated in the atmosphere of good sense of France and the working-men themselves, — imposed on him, as the guardiar of the treasury, incessant vigils.

These discourses, in fact, had a fatal influence on affairs.

The working-men were intoxicated, on the first days, by the sonorous words, which seemed to contain storms for the capitalists. The manufacturers, disturbed by the theories of wages to be fixed authoritatively by the state, believed themselves at the commencement of a peril greater than they incurred. The panic closed factories. Production and consumption diminished, and in the mean time, as the enlightened members of the government had foreseen, the working-men, in a body, began to perceive the inanity of the Luxembourg theories. The equality of wages distributed among workmen unequal in strength, skill, behavior, and labor, revolted their sense of equity. The subjection of capital, forced to expend itself in labor, without finding its interest, or deriving profits thence, disturbed their good sense. The eloquence of their young tribune, Louis Blanc, attracted them; but on leaving his lectures, they questioned each other on the applicability to their condition of the dogmas of this apostle of wages. They criticized his words, and found them nothing but sound. They proceeded to consequences, and these only brought them to the impossible. They already shook their heads, and said, with the vulgar energy of their language: — "This Luxembourg is an amusement the revolution has given to idlers. They put us to sleep with fine words, so that we need n't feel our hunger. Let us go back to plain common sense. There is neither capital, nor wages, nor work, without liberty. If we deprive the manufacturer of liberty, and the rich man of capital, we shall be all equally wretched. Equality of hunger is what they preach to us."

The problems of Louis Blanc, of the socialists and communists, came into collision with each other at the Luxembourg like the tongues of Babel. The heart of Louis Blanc abounded in fraternal sentiments, his language in figures, but his system in darkness. He was the O'Connell of laborers, giving brilliancy to problems, promising impossibilities, and postponing results among men who could not postpone their necessities.

Some members of the majority of government came together at the house of M. Crémieux, the minister of justice, to examine, among themselves, the position of things, and to hear the lamentations of M. Goudchaux. There, before MM. Marie, Bethmont, Crémieux, Garnier Pagès, Duclerc, Pagnerre, Carnot, and Lamartine, M. Goudchaux announced his irrevocable intention of retiring. The members of government and the ministers present were in consternation. They felt what a

heavy blow to the little credit that remained would be struck by the retreat of an esteemed minister, who enjoyed the confidence of capitalists. It would be an acknowledgment of distress, in the eyes of public opinion. Dupont de l'Eure, Garnier Pagès, Lamartine, all the members of the conference, begged M. Goudchaux to abandon his resolution. They pathetically represented to him the deplorable consequences which would flow from it; the calumnies of moneyed men, the fright of the taxable, the panic in the money market, and the inundation of Paris by masses of workmen out of employment.

M. Goudchaux did not yield. A mournful silence ensued. Each felt that in so critical a moment, when the finances were everything, when bankruptcy might result from the disappearance of specie, and when specie might disappear with M. Goudchaux, the resignation of the minister of finance would be the most terrible blow which could be aimed at government.

These were moments of anguish whose impression would rest poignantly on the hearts of those who understood the bearing of this business catastrophe in so short a time from the proclamation of the republic.

Lamartine, in particular, trembled at it. He was convinced that bankruptcy, terror, and war, were the same word. But he was also convinced that the government ought only to acknowledge itself vanquished by financial difficulties when it gave up entirely.

"To confess ourselves overcome or impotent, in view of the difficulties of the treasury, would be to say to the enemies of France, that the republic has commenced its career by bankruptcy. Sooner all die as the doomed!" cried he, rising in despair. "The departure of the minister of finance disturbs, but it shall not discourage us. Now that we have done everything to prevent this misfortune, let us do everything to repair it."

The same impulse roused all who were present at the conference. Garnier Pagès, though sinking with weakness, lassitude, and illness, found in his heart the courage of an honest man, that never fails. He accepted the burthen, whose weight he estimated better than any other man, but in sustaining which, his religious patriotism was equal to his devotion. His acceptance saved the treasury, and in saving the finances from the extreme and severe measures which imprudence recommended to despair, he really saved the republic.



## BOOK X.

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### I.

MEANWHILE the government had not yet received any precise intelligence with regard to the fate of the king, queen, and royal family. The agents appointed by Lamartine to go and protect their flight were vainly waiting for an order to depart. It has been seen that the government desired to facilitate the escape of the king, the princes, and the ministers, instead of interposing obstacles. Hence they had only employed official means to obtain intelligence of their different routes. It was without the knowledge of the government, and by a spontaneous act of justice, that a precept signed by the attorney-general ordered the arrest and trial of the fugitive ministers. The government was astonished and afflicted at this act. This suit would conflict with all their ideas. It would pave the way for painful emotions in the capital. It would falsify the character of mildness and magnanimity which the members of government wished to impart to the revolution. Lamartine summoned the attorney-general to the ministry of foreign affairs, to express these feelings to him. They appeared to be also the feelings of the magistrate, who had only, he said, obeyed a superior order. M. Portalis promised Lamartine that the precept should be regarded as a simple formality, and that it should be suffered to expire in neglect.

It was the same with a decree of the government which suppressed titles. This question, discussed on the 25th of February, at the Hôtel de Ville, had been contemptuously dismissed by the council. "Do not let us commence the republic by an act of folly," said Lamartine. "The nobility is abolished, but we do not abolish reminiscences and vanities."

The members of the government were surprised to read, a few days after, a decree which abolished the use of titles. They left it to neglect. The innumerable quantity of decrees which passed from their hands in circumstances of urgency, and the tumult at the Hotel de Ville, gave rise to some errors

of this nature. Many of these decrees bore only one or two of our signatures. They were taken from the council-table, and hurried to the printers, without having all been subject to the control or verification of the council.

## II.

We have seen that the king and the Duchess of Nemours and her children had got into two one-horse hackney-carriages in the place de la Concorde, and had taken the road to Saint-Cloud, escorted by a regiment of cuirassiers, under the command of General Régnaud de Saint-Jean d'Angely. At Saint-Cloud the king took the court-carriages and repaired to Trianon, where he remained a few moments, as if to give fortune time to reach and retain him. Gen. Régnaud de Saint-Jean d'Angely having finally asked him what orders he wished to give to the troops, and whether he wished to unite them round him at Saint-Cloud, the king replied: "It is no affair of mine; it now belongs to the Duke of Nemours." The postmaster of Versailles brought twenty-eight horses for his carriages to Trianon, — far different from the famous postmaster of Sainte-Manchold, who, by withholding them from Louis XVI., when he too was a fugitive, caused this unfortunate monarch and all his family to lose their heads; — the postmaster of Versailles said to the king, "Here are the best horses in my stables. I have selected them myself, as fiery and spirited, to make sure of the departure and safety of the king, on the indirect roads which he had best take. Make them keep the road as long as they have breath in their bodies. Do not think of me. Kill them, sire, — but let them save you!"

The king took the road to Dreux at the close of day. He reached it in the early part of the evening. In that town they were still in ignorance of the events in Paris. M. de Maréchal, the sub-prefect, hearing of the arrival of carriages from the court at an unusual hour, thought they must bring some princess, frightened at the disturbances at the Tuileries, to this royal sojourn. He repaired to the château, and recognized the king.

"I am a king no longer," said this prince. "I know not even where I shall find shelter for my life! Paris is in flames! I have abdicated, to avoid the last misfortunes. I confide myself to you in my evil fortune, as I did in my days of prosperity. Tell me, tell me of the course of events I am ignorant of, and advise me according to the circumstances you will learn this night."

At these words the mayor of Dreux entered to pay his respects to the king. He was ignorant of all. The king then spoke, and was the narrator of his own misfortunes. He recounted in detail and warmly the series of vicissitudes which had filled up the last days, up to the moment when, beleaguered in his palace by the increasing insurrection, ill-advised by his ministers of the preceding evening, and ill-assisted by those of the ensuing day, ill-defended by his still faithful troops; and abandoned by the National Guard, for whom he had reigned, abdication and flight through musket-shots had become his only resource. He was moved, touching, and impassioned. He was indignant at the blindness of the National Guard, the weakness and hesitation of his ministers, and the ingratitude of the people, who had raised a man to the throne to save them from anarchy, and who hurled him, from caprice, to the bottom of the pit from which he had rescued them. He was softened when he spoke of the vanity of services rendered to men, the fate of the queen, and their old age, yet green and strong, bound up in the uselessness of a royal exile far from Paris, which they had loved so much, far from the government he had directed, far from the councils he had enlightened by his experience and intelligence.

The two magistrates shed tears at these reproaches, addressed by an old man, crushed by his fall, to his fortune and the nation. The king, soon leaving this sad subject, returned to his grandson, and pitying his children, cast by a partial revolution on a throne which his wisdom could not strengthen, he seemed to forbode misfortunes, and to address despairing supplications to Heaven for their destinies.

Meanwhile, the king still flattered himself that his retreat had quieted everything, and that his abdication had left behind him a throne, legislature, and government. He told the mayor and sub-prefect that his intention was to remain four days at Dreux, to await the resolution of the Chambers with regard to him, the indication of his residence, and the mode of royal life, which should be assigned by the nation. He took some food, and went to view the buildings he had ordered at the château, by lamplight, like a man who was sure of the next day.

This uninhabited château was destitute of all the articles necessary for the king, the princesses, and children. The residents attached to the royal family hastened to bring furniture, linen, clothes, and silver plate. They lent the king some hundred pieces of gold. The sub-prefect proposed to send for the

regiment of Chartres, which was in garrison at Chartres. The National Guard of Dreux furnished him with sentinels of security and honor.

After supper, he wrote leisurely to M. de Montalivet, the master of his household, to ask him for his portfolios, his necessary articles, and the apparatus of his toilette, and to give him instructions relative to the disposition of his property.

At two o'clock, the courier who bore this despatch departed. The king went to bed, and slept profoundly. During his sleep, a friend of M. Bethmont arrived from Paris, and announced to the sub-prefect the proclamation of the republic.

M. Maréchal wished at least to allow the king his hours of sleep, to restore his strength sufficiently to bear the blow he was going to receive. He went up to the château at seven o'clock, and told the king's aide-de-camp and the Duke of Montpensier. The king was still sleeping. His family awoke him. The news was broken and softened to him by the tenderness of the queen. This princess changed the courage she exhibited during the struggle for resignation after her misfortune. A council of the family and friends was held around the king's bed. It was agreed that the royal family should separate, to avoid suspicion and the emotions which recognized carriages or familiar faces might excite upon the roads.

An isolated and uninhabited country-house, on the cape of Honfleur, belonging to M. de Perthuis, was assigned as a rendezvous for the king and queen. There it was hoped that they would easily find secret means of embarking and gaining the English coast. The Duke of Montpensier, the Duchess of Nemours, and the children, would take the road to Arranches, to fly from thence to the island of Jersey or Guernsey.

The court carriages were abandoned. The sub-prefect borrowed less suspicious ones from residents at Dreux. The most simple garments disguised the fugitives. A calash carried the Duke of Montpensier and the Duchess of Nemours towards Arranches. The king and queen, a chambermaid and a valet of M. de Rumigny, an aide-de-camp of the king, got into a close carriage. The queen, who had requested a mass in the morning at the chapel, over the tomb of her son, could not even breathe her farewell prayers to his ashes. Time pressed. The sub-prefect of Dreux, seated on the coach-box, set out with them. He took the road to Anet and Louviers.

On reaching Anet, the first post relay, the king was recognized, and respectfully saluted. M. Maréchal procured eight



or ten thousand francs in gold for him, and passports with fictitious names.

At Saint-André they had to wait for hours. The people, collected by a market-day, suspected and examined the carriage from a distance. They thought they saw Guizot in it. A cry arose, "It is Guizot! it is Guizot!" The commotion spread, and became threatening. The sub-prefect, who was known to some of the inhabitants of Saint-André, labored to undeceive the multitude. He made half revelations, which were understood and respected.

Meanwhile, three men approached and looked into the carriage. The king kept himself half hidden. He wore a black cap, pulled down over his forehead, and spectacles, but no false hair on his bald head. The men were in doubt, but soon returned with two gendarmes. The passports were demanded. M. Maréchal presented them, took one of the gendarmes aside, and confided to his generosity the secret of the king and queen's safety. The gendarme, affected, made a feint of examining the passports, and found them correct. The horses were harnessed, and the king started.

### III.

The carriage thus rolled on the whole day without obstacle. The only danger was passing through Evreux. M. Maréchal trembled lest the prince should be recognized and arrested in a town so near to Paris, where the effervescing population might give reason to fear emotions in the name of the king. They were fast approaching it; the anxiety of the man who watched over the safety of these two old persons increased at each turn of the wheels. He already discerned the spires of the city. A reminiscence came to his mind. He remembered that one of his friends had a country-house near the route, in the vicinity of Evreux. He caused the horses to be stopped. He questioned a cantonnier who was breaking stones on the edge of the road; this man pointed with his finger towards the house, and indicated the cross-road which led thither. M. Maréchal ordered the postilion to drive the carriage there.

The mansion was vacant. The farmer and his wife receive the travellers, without knowing them, at their own fireside. The king and queen install themselves in a chamber contiguous to the kitchen of the farm-house; they warm themselves; they receive the rustic hospitality of these poor people, who take them for friends of their master.

While they are enjoying these hours of repose, M. Maréchal hastens on foot to Evreux, and informs his friend of the charge intrusted to his house.

The town was in a state of fermentation at the successive rumors from Paris. Passing through Evreux was impossible. M. Maréchal and his friend, after having acquainted themselves with the means of avoiding it by turning around the wall, rejoin the royal family in its retreat.

The farmer, informed by his master of the rank and of the misfortune of the guests whom he had received, devotes himself with ardor to their safety. He was familiar with the by-roads; he harnesses his horses to the carriage; he himself guides the king.

A confidential man guided the queen by another route. They leave at seven o'clock; they travel all night; before day the king and queen arrive, in separate directions, at the cape of Hornfleur, and take shelter, without having excited any attention, in the house of M. de Perthuis. This house, hidden amidst trees, is built on an elevation, at half an hour's walk from the city.

#### IV.

It was the 26th of February. The master of the house did not inhabit it; an intelligent and trusty gardener was informed beforehand of the mystery which he was going to protect. This man had inspired his wife and children with the discretion and devotedness on which depended the whole plan of the safety and escape of the king and queen. No one suspected in the country that this deserted house enclosed those who were two days previously sovereigns of France, and hosts of so many palaces. Care had been taken to keep the blinds shut; even the chimney smoke rose only at night. This confinement lasted nine days. These nine days were employed by General Rumigny, by General Dumas, and by a few confidants, in procuring for the king safe means of embarking for England. The prince and his friends were ignorant that the government had authorized Lamartine to procure for them himself those means of flight, with the respect and prudence due to peril and misfortune.

The king, fearing to be recognized and arrested at Havre, if he repaired there to take the packet-boat for England, went by night on foot to Trouville. A merchant of Trouville, M. Gueltier, gave him an asylum for two days. By the advice of his host, the king decided to freight a fisher-boat of the port of

Trouville, in order to convey him by sea to an English packet-boat. The first captain whom he addressed is suspicious, bargains, and wishes exorbitant payment for his services: he is dismissed. Another suspects also that the object is to save fugitives: with generosity he gratuitously offers his bark; his devotion is accepted. But the first, jealous and base, hearing of the projected departure of his comrade, divulges the secret and denounces him. The king, informed of the rumors which circulate in the town, is apprehensive of the domiciliary researches which these rumors may occasion; he changes his asylum, and returns at length by night, over muddy roads, in the rain, discouraged, harassed, and believing himself pursued, to the house of the gardener, where the queen awaited him. The coast seemed to close before them. Enthusiasm for the republic, although inoffensive and generous, seemed to give to the whole land the appearance of hatred against royalty.

A young naval officer residing at Havre, who was not in the secret of the king's residence in the suburbs, but who suspected, from partial revelations, that the royal family were seeking in vain for means of escape, took it upon himself to inquire of Captain Pol, of the English navy, if he would consent to take the king on board, out at sea, in case that prince should come up with his packet-boat in a fishing vessel. Captain Pol replied that his orders forbade it; but, upon his arrival at Southampton, he hastens to acquaint the Admiralty confidentially of the overtures which have been made to him, and of the service that a packet-boat crossing over to the coasts of France might render the king. Lord Palmerston instantly despatches orders to this intent to the English consuls on our northern coast.

The young officer, warned in turn by the English consul at Havre, succeeded in discovering the asylum of the fugitive prince. It was agreed that the king should embark at Havre, on board of one of the vessels which carry cattle and provisions from the French to the English coast.

Five entire days, with a head wind and terrible sea, opposed the departure of these vessels. The king consumed the time in chafing with impatience and anxiety. He passed backwards and forwards, went several times across the fields, and in the storms of the night, from his retreat to the port of Havre, and from the port of Havre to his retreat. He finally determined on the most dangerous course of all, to embark, not far from Rouen, on board a packet-boat which plied between Rouen and Havre. This vessel, which arrived at Havre in the night,

would afford him more opportunities of getting through that city without being noticed, and of passing immediately as a traveller coming from Paris on the Seine by this boat, to the vessel at sea, which takes passengers to convey them immediately to England.

The king disguised himself. He took the name of Theodore Lebrun. The mayor favored the embarkation by some loyal connivance. The English vice-consul gave his arm to the queen. The two old people, as they mounted on deck, recognized the very vessel they had chartered a year before for their water-party, during their sojourn of pleasure and gayety at the château d'Eu. Some of the same sailors still formed a part of the crew; the person whose duty it was to pass the passengers in review to get their passage-money carried a lanthorn, whose light accidentally fell upon the king's face. He recognized by this flash the prince, whom another look of his might betray. He hastened to turn his lantern, making a respectful sign of discretion to his old master.

The rumor circulated confidentially among the crew that the vessel had the fugitives from Eu on board. Not one of those sailors dreamed of serving the republic by a base act of treachery to old age and misfortune. They pretended not to see or notice anything; only, when the vessel was anchored at the quay at Havre, they quietly arranged themselves as the travellers passed, and taking off their hats and bowing with silent respect, said, in a low tone, "May Heaven protect you!" It was what the republic itself had said, by the voice of its government, when the volleys were yet blazing, and the blood of Paris was not yet wiped away beneath the feet.

## V.

There was only the width of a quay to cross, in order to pass from the Rouen packet to the packet for Southampton. The king, the queen, preceded by General Dumas, and General Rumigny, cross it without being observed, and go on board the English vessel. At the moment that the king puts his foot on the ladder, a female raises a lantern in her hand, and exclaims, "It's he! it's the king!" An officer approaches, to assure himself, doubtless, by his own eyes, of the identity of the prince. "It is too late," said the captain of the packet, and he drew up the ladder.

This circumstance made a lively impression on the attendants



of the king, who believed that his safety had been held in suspense at this minute, and had perhaps been compromised by the exclamation of a woman, and by the curiosity of a soldier; but no order to oppose the departure of the king had been given by any one, and instructions the most contrary to every measure against his safety and his liberty were in the hands of the agents.

The vessel sailed during a night of squalls, and with a terrible sea; it bore the king to Southampton, where the hospitality of his son-in-law, the King of the Belgians, awaited him in the royal château at Claremont.

## VI.

Other vicissitudes, resulting from the same error as to the intentions of the government, and the magnanimity of the people, had for some time signalized the flight of the Duchess of Orleans, her sons, the Duke of Nemours, his children, and the Duchess of Montpensier.

We have seen that the Duchess of Orleans, compelled to fly from the hall of the Chamber of Deputies, at the second invasion of the people, had retired with the Count of Paris, and MM. de Mornay, Scheffer, Lasteyrie, Courtais and Clement. With admirable presence of mind and courage, M. de Mornay had protected her departure and course from the Chamber of Deputies to the Hôtel des Invalides. The carriage which conveyed the princess had escaped the notice of the populace. Marshal Molitor had sheltered the princess, the Count of Paris, and the Duke of Nemours, in his apartments for some hours; but the old soldier, sick, and troubled by the responsibility of the occurrences, had shown doubts with regard to the disposition of the Invalides, and anxiety as to the security of this asylum, which had seriously shaken the confidence of the princess and her friends.

While the marshal was preparing a dinner for his guests, and while councils of friends were being held around her, the princess—who had constantly before her eyes the reminiscence of the captivity of the Temple, and the picture of her son placed in the hands of another Simon—had resolved not to prolong her stay at the Invalides an hour. She started with her son before daybreak, under the guard of M. Anatole de Montesquiou, for the château de Ligny, a few leagues from Paris.

M. Anatole de Montesquiou, an old aide-de-camp of the em-

peror, afterwards attached to the court of Queen Amelia, was one of those persons who possess not only the graces of the courtier, but who have the bravery of soldiers, the chivalry of poets, and the devotion of honest men. The princess, protected by M. de Montesquiou, hourly informed by her friends in Paris of all that could interest her mother's heart, and suspend or aid her flight, passed several days in concealment at the château de Ligny. She was there consumed by anxiety with regard to the fate of her second son, the Duke of Chartres.

At the moment of her escape from the Chamber of Deputies she had been separated from her children by the people, who poured into the halls, the staircases, and lobbies. The Duke of Chartres had fallen under the feet of the crowd. His mother's cries summoned him in vain. The waves of the people were as deaf as those of ocean.

Deputies and *employés* of the Chamber had promised her to bring back her son in a short time. They had implored her not to destroy herself, as well as the Count of Paris, by insisting on remaining in the midst of a tumult which would menace, stifle her, or retain her prisoner. In fact, two brothers, named Lipmann, ushers of the Chamber, Alsacians by birth, and devoted to the princess, exhausted themselves in efforts to recover and save the young prince. While one of them, Jacob Lipmann, picked up the poor child, raised him in his arms to give him breath, and shielded him from the crush of the multitude, the other, at the entrance of the corridor, sustained the whole weight of the crowd, which threatened to overturn him in its surging. The usher, Lipmann, carried the child to his lodging in the neighborhood of the palace. He put him to bed, took care of him, and gave notice to M. de Lespée, the questor of the Assembly, of the trust which the fortune of the day had placed in his hands.

At eight o'clock in the evening, M. de Lespée, who thought the duchess was still at the Invalides, went to M. Lipmann's to get the Duke of Chartres. M. Lipmann carried the prince, dressed like a child of the people, in his arms. The duchess had gone. M. de la Valette and M. d'Elchingen confided him to the care of M. and Madame de Mornay. He remained two days sick in the house of a poor woman in the rue de l'Université, to whom M. de Mornay had confided him, to hide him from pursuit. Rendered easy by the tone of the government, M. and Madame de Mornay took him back to their house.

loaded him with attentions, and placed him safe and sound in the arms of his mother.

The princess set out from the château de Ligny in disguise. A carriage, prepared by her friends, conveyed her to Versailles. At Asnières she took the railroad to Lille. She passed the night, without sleep, in watching and praying at the bedside of her children.

The shadow of the revolution constantly pursued her. On the threshold of France, she still trembled at the idea of being detained, and leaving her children to the fate of the children of Marie Antoinette. But it was no longer the France without pity, the France of prisons and scaffolds.

General Baudrand, the guardian of the Count of Paris, and counsellor of the princess, although sick, and incapable of moving, had caused himself to be carried to his post at the palace at the moment of the invasion of the people. When the people entered in the footsteps of the duchess, who had just gone out, the general told the invaders that they were in the apartments of the widow of the Duke of Orleans. At these words they uncovered themselves. They respected the apartments, and, of their own accord, posted sentinels at the doors, to preserve the souvenirs of the wife and mother. They fought against royalty; they bowed before nature.

The princess had friends among the leaders who commanded at Lille. The numerous army which formed the garrison of this fortified place might be tempted by her presence, and seduced from the republic by their enthusiasm for a woman and a child. During this last night she had an idea of showing herself to the troops, and claiming the throne for her son. The crime of civil war interposed between the throne and this idea. She recoiled from it, and set out from Lille. She reached the banks of the Rhine, under the name of the Countess of Dreux. She rejoined her mother at Ems, and sought solace in the perfectly pure recollections of her transitory happiness in France, of her mourning, her misfortune, the ruin of her destiny by another's faults; and in her resignation to the will of her second country, in which her name had inspired men of all parties only with admiration, tenderness, and respect.

## VII.

The Duke of Nemours left France without hindrance, as soon as his duties to his father, sister-in-law, and nephew, had

been discharged. He had shown himself more worthy of his popularity in misfortune than in prosperity. Intrepid and disinterested, he had not bargained either with his life or his rights to the regency, to save the crown for his brother's son. History owes him the justice which public opinion does not allow him.

Two princesses had been separated from the king and queen at the moment of their precipitate departure from the Tuileries. These were the Princess Clementine, the wife of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, and the Duchess of Montpensier. The Duke of Montpensier, on accompanying his father to the carriages which awaited him in the place de la Concorde, thought to return without obstacle to the Tuileries, and watch personally over the safety of his wife, whom advanced pregnancy had retained for some days in her apartments. The crowd which poured out of all the issues into the gardens had soon apprized the prince that all return was impossible. On leaving, he had confided the princess to the care of some persons of his household, and the solicitude of M. Jules de Lasteyrie, whose loyalty, name, and popularity, rendered him easy in every event. He had mounted his horse precipitately, and followed the king to Saint-Cloud.

At the moment of the invasion of the château, M. de Lasteyrie had given his arm to the princess. He had become involved with her in the crowd, which was at that time too confused and tumultuous to permit it to notice a young woman crossing the garden.

M. de Lasteyrie hoped to reach the Pont Tournant soon enough to despatch the Duchess of Montpensier in safety with the royal family. At the moment of leaving the gardens, the carriage, filled and hastily closed by M. Crémieux, had started at a gallop, leaving the Princess Clementine abandoned, astray, and unable either to follow on or return to the square. Fortunately, she perceived M. de Lasteyrie and the Duchess of Montpensier, her sister-in-law, and joined this remnant of her family.

M. de Lasteyrie carried the two young women to his mother's, without being either recognized or questioned on his road. This family, doubly popular, from the name of Lafayette and the virtues of Madame de Lasteyrie, his daughter, was an asylum inviolable to the suspicions and search of the people. In a few minutes the Princess Clementine came out and joined her father at Trianon. The young Duchess of Montpensier



remained till the 25th, at the hearth and under the protection of Madame de Lasteyrie. Her husband had sent her word from Dreux, by General Thierry, his aide-de-camp, to join him at the château d'Eu. He thought the king might go there, and make it his residence. The rapidity of fortune had outstripped him even on the road of this exile. He was wandering on the shore of the ocean.

### VIII.

On reaching Eu, the young princess alighted at the château, and found it empty.

Alarming rumors announced the arrival of a column of working-men from Rouen, who, it was said, had come, as at Neuilly, to lay waste the dwelling of the king. The duchess left her father's palace, and asked shelter of M. Estancelin, a diplomatist attached to the embassy of Munich. At nightfall she left again for Belgium, accompanied by M. Estancelin and General Thierry. They went towards Brussels.

At Abbeville the passage of a carriage attracted attention, and drew together a crowd. The horses were stopped, and the cry was that the princes were escaping. M. Estancelin showed himself at the coach window. He was known by name in the country. He asserted that the princess was his wife, with whom he was returning to his post abroad. The more completely to obviate suspicion, he ordered the coachman to drive the carriage to one of his friends, whose republican opinions were a guarantee with the people. He alighted at the door of this friend, and confided to him, in a low tone, the name, rank, and flight, of the young woman. The weak or cold-hearted man trembled, or hardened himself. He feared that the discovery of this mystery would render him unpopular, or compromise his life. In vain did General Thierry and M. Estancelin urge, beg, supplicate, and represent to him the age, sex, delicate situation, and position of a woman, whom his refusal might give up to the disturbance of an insurrection, the fright of a captivity, or the hazard of an impracticable flight on foot. Fear is deaf. Egotism is implacable.

The travellers, seeing some of the populace collecting round the door, got out of the carriage, leaving it empty in the street, and went to seek another refuge a little further off. They separated. M. Estancelin directed General Thierry to one of

the city gates. It was agreed that the general should pass it with the duchess ; and that, after having thus left the city with his trust, he should wait by the side of the road to Belgium for the carriage, which M. Estancelin would bring between eleven o'clock and midnight.

M. Estancelin left to seek means of procuring horses from other friends. General Thierry and the young woman wandered about in the sleet and the deepest darkness, in an unknown city. The wind and tempest had extinguished the lamps. They almost groped their way in the direction which had been pointed out to them.

After many mistakes and circuits, they finally came under a gate of the city, in the process of construction, whose arch, scaffolded and surrounded with wood, was closed up on the side of the country. They turned back, and glided through a low and narrow side-door, left open by the builders for the ingress and egress of foot-passengers. They tried it, and thought themselves clear of the city.

But this false road, channelled by the rain and carts, inundated with pools of water, encumbered with building materials and blocks of stone, terminated in a quarry without any visible issue. The pregnant young woman went up to her ankles in the mire, and lost her shoes in soft clay. The general was in despair. He feared that the excessive fatigue and bad weather would kill a child bearing another child in her womb. He made the princess sit down upon a stone, wrapped her in his cloak, and told her to wait there without stirring, while he went back to the town and sought from chance or pity a roof or a guide.

He was hesitating to knock at a door, fearing that it might prove a snare instead of a place of safety for the princess, when an unknown friend of M. Estancelin, sent by this young man to recover and guide the fugitives, accosted the general, made himself known, hastened with him in search of the princess, conducted the fugitives out of the town, and placed the young woman under a shed attached to a lime-kiln, where there was no fire.

There General Thierry and the Duchess of Montpensier slowly counted the hours. It was not long before the carriage was heard, and at last it conveyed the Duchess of Montpensier towards Brussels and her husband.

The princess had been as courageous as a heroine, and thoughtless as a child, during this night of distress and anguish.

General Thierry remarked, for the purpose of raising her courage by satisfying at least a romantic imagination, while she was vainly looking for her shoes in the mud, and walking with bare feet in the trench: "What strange adventures in this horrible night!"—"Oh, yes!" she replied. "Well, I like these adventures better than the horrid monotony of the round work-table in the hot and splendid saloons of the Tuileries."

### IX.

The Duke of Wurtemberg, the husband of the Princess Marie, mourned by the arts as well as by her father's court, was the last prince of that family who remained at Paris. Lamartine sent him passports, under a less noted name, to enable him to return to Germany.

Such was the emigration of this family, aggrandized by revolution, expelled by revolution, returning from exile, ascending the throne, and again voluntarily expatriated. No imprecation followed it to the threshold of France. Many of its members bore away with them veneration, others esteem, others again hopes. The nation remained just and worthy in its emancipation. The republic, born of thought and not of anger, was contented to succeed the kingdom in the country. It proscribed neither princes nor princesses while it removed the throne. It beheld, from afar off, the moment when it would be sufficiently incontestable and self-sustained to restore their portion in the country to those who claimed nothing from it but the position of Frenchmen and citizens.

The confiscation of the property of the king, the princes, and princesses, was at that time often proposed by unthinking republicans who besieged the provisional government with injunctions and counsels. It was unanimously repulsed. The members of the government would not at any price found the republic on an act of spoliation and injustice. They only decreed, as an alimentary succor to the working people in want of bread, the million in arrear which the nation paid monthly to royalty.

As for the pecuniary situation in which the republic would place the king and princes, a decree was postponed to the moment when tranquillity should have restored all its coolness and equity to the people. It was only agreed upon, as a principle, that the personal possessions of the king and princes should remain their inviolable property; that in case of insuf-

fiency, the nation should make the exiled king an allowance proportioned to his rank and the wants of his household; and that in case of excessive personal fortune retained on French territory by the king, or the princes, his sons, the nation should hold them in guardianship, during the first years of the foundation of the new government; that it should set apart a suitable proportion of the revenues for the princes, and invest the rest for their profit, to be remitted to them entire as soon as all excitement of civil war at their cost should be demonstrated impossible; and that, finally, the nation should offer the Duchess of Orleans and her sons a subsidy worthy of the rank they had occupied in France, and the sentiments which she had inspired.

A man of universal reputation, M. Lherbette, an old member of the Chamber of Deputies, acceptable at once to the nation and to royalty, was named administrator and adjuster of this property. M. Lherbette refused, from an honorable scruple. M. Navin was entreated to accept. Every time the question was reproduced before the council, it was treated and resolved upon in this manner by the majority of the council. It was with this idea, and this intermediate arrangement, that the government waited for the National Assembly. It adopted them by giving them the sanction and dignity of a great nation.

Lamartine frequently settled, in this manner, questions of the private property of the princes and princesses, with the ministers of Spain and Brazil. All that has been recounted on the other side of the channel, touching the rapacity and harshness of the republic to the king, princes and princesses, is calumny. Such were the proscriptions and the spoliations of the first government.

## X.

The fears of civil war, that the presence of the Duke of Aumale at the head of the army in Africa left upon the general mind, were soon dispelled. The government had named General Cavaignac governor-general of Algeria. The name of Cavaignac was consecrated with the republicans by the memory of the eldest brother of this officer. Godefroy Cavaignac was a name as lofty as that of Carrel in republic esteem. He died before the advent of his idea; his idea wore his mourning; it rendered him homage in the person of his brother. The brother was himself an officer of renown. He had known how



to merit the confidence of the army by his valor; and without repudiating the traditions of his brother, and the aspirations of his mother for the republic, he had gained the esteem and confidence of the princes. The frankness of his opinions protected him: frankness does not conspire; he was incapable of treachery. The Duke of Aumale, upon learning the abdication of his father, gave to his army a proclamation and an address worthy of the early days of the first republic, when each man effaced himself before his country.

“INHABITANTS OF ALGERIA:

“Faithful to my duties as a citizen and a soldier, I remained at my post so long as I could believe my presence useful to the service of the country. That situation no longer exists. General Cavaignac has been nominated the governor-general of Algeria. Until his arrival at Algiers, the functions of governor-general of Algeria will be fulfilled by General Changarnier.

“Submissive to the national will, I depart; but from the depths of exile, all my wishes will be for your prosperity, and the glory of France, whom I should have wished to serve for a longer time.  
H. D'ORLEANS.”

“General Changarnier will fulfil the functions of governor-general, during the interval which may elapse before the arrival at Algiers of General Cavaignac, who has been appointed governor-general of Algeria. In separating myself from an army, the model of honor and of courage, in whose ranks I have passed the best days of my life, I can but wish it new successes: a new career will be perhaps opened for its valor; it will fulfil it gloriously, I have the firm belief.

“Officers, subalterns, and soldiers! I had hoped to fight again with you for the country. That honor has been refused me; but from the depths of exile my heart will follow you everywhere, and recollecting the national will, it will triumph in your successes, and all its wishes will ever be for the glory and happiness of France.  
H. D'ORLEANS.”

## XI.

Public opinion, reassured on this point, was more and more disquieted respecting our finances. They shuddered at that assembly of men receiving salaries at the Luxembourg. It was a danger, without doubt. But history will be grateful for it.

The eloquence and intervention of Louis Blanc, powerful, from principles, over two hundred thousand workmen, had, at the same time, a moderating influence over the passions of the people. He presented them with false systems, but he did not preach to them evil sentiments. He had morbid and exaggerated hopes in his theories; he had nothing of vengeance. He promised chimeras, but he did not offer either disorder, or violence, or blood. The Luxembourg, under his guidance, contributed greatly to intimidate capital; but it contributed also to maintain order, to prevent confiscations, to make war unpopular, and to cause the instinct of humanity to prevail among the masses. A false idea may be sincere, and that which is sincere does not become useless from being allied to errors in industry. Such was, at the beginning, the character of the instructions of Louis Blanc at the Luxembourg.

## XII.

The other members of the government supported this assembly, as an evil, without doubt, but as an inevitable evil, and one which would produce a much greater good. Louis Blanc, thrown out of the government, expelled from the Luxembourg, and become, by this persecution, the very idol and the eloquent Masaniello of two or three hundred thousand workmen out of employment, and rendered fanatical in Paris, would have been a much more dangerous element of trouble than Louis Blanc discoursing at the Luxembourg, constrained by his union with the government, and restraining these masses in a fantastic circle, from which he did not allow them to depart. One could not yield less to the workmen, the soldiers of this revolution, made in the name of labor, than a sincere and free inquiry upon the questions of labor, which were their policy and their life.

However, in order to prevent the panic, which increased every hour, they planned measures to reassure capital, labor, and credit. They replied to the word bankruptcy, which had been publicly spoken, by a decree which anticipated, for some weeks, the payment of the revenue due to the creditors of the state. This was to answer, by a fact, to these suppositions of ruin. It was a defiance thrown to distrust. This measure did not suffice to reassure troubled imaginations. The bankers saw in it only a bravado to disguise fear. They calculated that after the revenue was paid there would remain

nothing in the treasury. The distrust was spread abroad; silver was drawn in. The seven hundred millions, which the state owed to the saving banks, to the holders of treasury bonds, and for public services, weighed upon the minister of the finances. He discerned the sinister events to which he shuddered to affix his name. Garnier Pagès had assumed the burden of the ministry of finances. He did not conceal from himself the extremity of the danger. He yielded less to the urgency of his colleagues than to the impulse of his own courage. He is one of those men whom peril tempts, and who become great with crises. He devoted to the task his labor, his name, and his life. He chose, as his assistant, Duclerc, as courageous and indefatigable as himself.

### XIII.

The finances were fathomed in a few hours by these two men. They regained confidence, and inspired it in the government. Before the eighth of March, Garnier Pagès exposed before the council all the wounds and all the remedies of the situation.

France was more aggrieved by fifteen years of peace than she would have been by a long war. The finances were burdened to such a degree as to take away all liberty of action from the country, if great and extraordinary emergencies had unexpectedly occurred. Royalty had formed its financial system after its own image. All was prepared for a long peace. This system, good in its design, had its excess in innumerable industrial shares of stock, fictitious money, which loaded the portfolios of private men and bankers, which only represented supposed capitals, which returned no revenues, and which served for the gambling of stock-jobbing. They amounted, at least, to the value of two thousand millions. These shares of stock had vanished, or laid inactive in the coffers of the industrials, or of the undertakers of the great public works. The necessary sums for the supply of a year, as estimated in the budget, amounted to seventeen hundred and twelve millions; five hundred and fourteen millions were promised and due for the works in course of execution. The established public debt amounted to five thousand one hundred and seventy-nine millions. This debt had increased nine hundred millions in seven years. Royalty had been prodigal of the future. The republic was about to be loaded with the weight, the responsibility,

and unpopularity, of a liquidation which did not at all belong to it. Neither the debt nor the revolution were the acts of those who must bear their odium. Royalty incurred the debt, and its ministers allowed the revolution.

But, besides this budget of seventeen hundred millions, these works contracted for at five hundred millions, these two thousand millions of industrial shares of stocks thrown upon the Bourse by the government, and these five thousand millions of capital debt, royalty left nine hundred and sixty millions of debt, shortly to fall due, or payable in three hundred and twenty-five millions of treasury bonds and the funds of the saving-banks, a simple deposit in their hands.

The treasury must then face at once a thousand millions of funds due, besides seventy-three millions to pay the six months' income, due on the twenty-second of March; besides, the expenses of the ordinary services and sudden incidents of a country in revolution, and, perhaps, at war with itself and with Europe.

The Bank of France, an independent instrument of credit and temporary resources for the government, had itself failed in cash a few months before. It was only a little revived by the payment of fifty millions in specie, come from Russia. The bill of exchange, which supplies an incalculable amount of cash among individuals, was withdrawn, suspended, or destroyed, at the same moment, from the fear of a general settlement. So that cash alone, and in the sole hands of the government, was about to supply, without assistance, all the life and circulation of the country. By a coincidence yet more unfortunate, this crisis was the same throughout Europe. Affairs were complicated from St. Petersburg to London, Vienna, Berlin, and Paris, in a proportion that did not harmonize with the circulating capital. Gold and silver were wanting, and paper was good for nothing.

#### XIV.

The problem presented by such an accumulation of distress to a revolutionary government, which had at once to support a people of workmen, to recruit and equip an army, to face extinguished credit, misery, the poor, order at home and war abroad, and alone to reestablish money, credit, industry and labor, without having recourse to the exactions and cruelties



of revolutions : — this problem was of a nature to make the most intrepid men grow pale and fly.

Garnier Pagès met it with that resolution which works miracles, since it dares to hope for them when every one believes them impossible. He had, like his colleagues, faith in virtue, and providence recompensed him for it. He conceived by inspiration the only plan which could save the republic from bankruptcy. If some details were wanting, or if some measures failed in the execution of this plan, taken as a whole, it was as logical as bold.

Above all, the government had need of silver. It had but three means to obtain it : — credit, paper money, or exactions. Exactions would produce blood at the first resistance. The government wished, at any cost, to live and die pure. Assignats would cause a general panic, and the disappearance of the last crown. To issue them would require punishment. To punish, in a revolution, is to proscribe ; to confiscate, is to kill. The majority of the government was always inflexibly opposed to proposals of assignats. There remained, then, only the alternative of credit ; but the revolution had taken it from the government. It must be found again in an independent institution, which should become, so to speak, its surety before France. This institution, yet very weak in proportion to the part which they desired it to play, existed in the Bank of France. There were two modes by which it might be used. To constrain it, or to protect it. Some wished to constrain it. It was decided to protect it.

Garnier Pagès three times saved the Bank of France. First, by obstinately refusing the merchants of Paris a three months' suspension of their engagements towards the bank ; then by refusing the paper money, which would have destroyed the bank ; and, lastly, by taking the bold but fortunate measure of authorizing the forced acceptance of the bills of the bank as silver. The bank, thus saved, saved in its turn the government. It loaned it two hundred and thirty millions. It allied itself, with intelligence and patriotism, to the government. M. d'Argoult, director of the bank, forgot his old attachment to fallen royalty, to devote himself exclusively to the financial safety of his country. He was at once a man of the bank and a man of the treasury. He showed himself truly a patriot and a statesman, by his intrepidity in distress, and by the fruitfulness of his resources in difficulties. The bank was before only useful to commerce ; it became useful to the country.

It had received only the esteem, and sometimes the envy, of public opinion. It deserved the gratitude of the nation. The provisional government did not hesitate, under the direction of Garnier Pagès, to establish and nationalize the other banks of the republic by the central credit of the Bank of France.

## XV.

But although the bank, thus protected and centralized, could lend to the government by hundreds of millions, it required a secure mortgage. This mortgage gave the assurance that the treasury, unexpectedly emptied, would be filled anew. The territorial taxes were well paid. The enthusiasm of the taxpayers even anticipated its payment. Every one came to the assistance of the good intentions of the government, to take from it the temptation or the necessity of having recourse to extreme revolutionary measures. The curates preached the payment of the tax, as a public virtue. The rich paid their year's contribution in advance. The poor brought in their twelfths. The offices for the collection of taxes were crowded by those who paid, as they would have been by those who expected to receive. There was an emulation to pay, so prevalent was the feeling that there was danger in the emptiness of the treasury.

A national loan, from the enthusiasm of the moment, and for the public safety, was possible, and would have been productive, during this first outbreak of public spirit. Many members of the government demanded it, with the impatience of the hour which escaped Garnier Pagès. Considerations of public credit prevented him from consenting to promulgate this measure. The moment passed, and the fire of zeal was extinguished. They limited themselves to paying the tax. This was a fault of the government.

But the indirect imposts, immediate and daily products of consumption and production, failed. The army demanded a prompt and burdensome reorganization. The treasury might be found unprovided, and thus expose the country itself. The constantly increasing relief required to give the workmen, without wages, and consequently without bread; the pay and equipment of the Guard Mobile; banks of discount to be established in all the manufacturing towns; loans of specie to be made to the great centres of industry; the public works to be maintained in a certain proportion, to prevent the overflow

of laborers out of employment in the departments ; the navy, foreign affairs, the elections, justice ; in fine, the internal administration, whose agents could not be allowed to suffer, gave glimpses of the ill-boding event of an emptiness of the treasury. A single day of want of resources would have been the signal for a general catastrophe. The functionaries and the capitalists might wait ; hunger could not be put off. Six millions of workmen lived by public assistance. A day's delay of their wages would be the signal of a vast sedition of despair and famine. It was necessary to foresee and provide.

The government, resolved to avoid bankruptcy at any cost, had to choose between the creation of a paper currency, or an additional tax to meet the crisis, as in 1815 and in 1830. They were striving to save property. It was for property to contribute to save itself. Assignats would lose, perhaps on the very morning of their emission, one half their value. Silver, for which they would wish to change them, would disappear. The price of commodities would rise in proportion to the discredit of the assignats. It would be necessary to create the maximum, to bring these commodities within the power of the poor. The maximum produces scarcity ; scarcity, despair ; and despair, crimes. We should come in fifteen days to assassinations and to scaffolds.

There remained, then, the land-tax, which assumed all the burdens, as it assumed all riches, during moments when all conventional value disappeared.

Garnier Pagès and the government determined to levy an additional land-tax of forty-five centimes above all duties. This impost made proprietors complain, but saved them. It preserved the destitute from famine, labor from stagnation, the treasury from deficit, the great industrial towns from the seditions rising from the want of employment and misery, the country, in fine, from external dangers, by allowing the government to sustain credit, to establish banks of discount wherever important towns required them, to enroll in the Guard Mobile the most turbulent superfluity of the young population of Paris, to strengthen the army, to supply its pay, to support a million of indigent workmen, to calm the excitement against the rich, and the murmurs against the selfishness of property, to suppress the duty upon stamps, to abolish almost immediately the tax upon salt, to reduce the tolls levied upon provisions on their entrance into Paris, and to take away one half of the tax which was imposed on wines for the benefit of the city of

Paris. This impost would bring into the treasury one hundred and ninety millions, if it should be distributed without indulgence, and gathered from the whole body of tax-payers. The government authorized the receivers to estimate, with justice, the powers of contribution of the small proprietors, and only to exact payment from the rich. This conduct, commanded by justice as well as policy, reduced the product to one hundred and sixty or one hundred and fifty millions. These one hundred and fifty millions, and the two hundred and thirty millions advanced by the bank upon pledge of the state forests, sufficed for all, and still left in the coffers the sums necessary to cover all the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of 1848, while using a million a day for the wages of unemployed hands. Such was the price of a revolution. None ever cost less dearly to a people. And yet this tax of prudence, of safety, of credit, of labor and assistance to a suffering people, — this tax which interposed between bankruptcy and the republic, between property and destitution, between the country and the foreigner, between the lives of the citizens and the violence of a dearth, — excited, at a later period, as many murmurs as if government had violated property, pillaged fortune, and ruined the landed interest. The rich, whom this tax had saved, the poor, whom it had rescued from oppression, the destitute, who had consumed it in alms, united in a common malediction. The people of Paris roused themselves, not against the overcharges, but against the mitigation, of the duties for their profit on provisions and wine. History will judge the selfishness of proprietors, and the ingratitude of the destitute. It will proclaim the truth: it is that the tax of one hundred and sixty million, by the forty-five centimes, was at once the necessity, the prudence, the peace, and the safety of the republic. France will blush when she compares this price with that which the first republic, the empire, the restoration, the invasion of Bonaparte in 1815, the second restoration, and the revolution of 1830, cost France in gold and in blood.

## XVI.

Garnier Pagès, to crown his plan, projected the purchase of all the railroads of the state. The shares of stock in these railroads had fallen to prices ruinous for the companies who owned them. The buying them, after examining their accounts, at equitable prices, raised their value in a moment,



by the guarantee of the state, and put at once in circulation a dead or discredited property. It thus restored a fortune to individuals, in place of a fiction in their portfolios. It finished the lines, it rented the works; in fine, it made a loan of a thousand millions, secured by a mortgage, running many years, upon this value of three or four thousand millions.

Some companies themselves demanded, with urgency, from the government, this measure, which assured their safety, while others accused it of spoliation, in order to raise the price of the purchase. Lamartine used every effort to urge forward the execution of this measure, which was too long suspended by the difficulties met with in procuring the consent of the companies. He too well foresaw that this treaty between the companies and the state, possible under a concentrated and dictatorial government, would become impracticable with a sovereign assembly, drawn into different opinions by the influence of the more exacting companies. The delay incurred in this affair was the only fault with which he constantly reproached the minister of finances.

But the government, which was thus able to meet the payment of the interests of the debt, and for the public service, could not, without a paper currency, pay, at the approaching time when it fell due, the whole of the seven hundred millions of principal of the floating debt. They adjourned the reimbursement of the treasury bonds, and those of the saving-banks, — sad measures, but necessary, and mitigated by the increase of interest in the hands of the creditors, and by partial and small payments to indigent depositors.

## XVII.

While the provisional government thus saved the republic from the incalculable consequences of a bankruptcy, the minister of war carried out, with all the power of the public treasury, the measures adopted to strengthen the army, in proportion to our dangers from abroad.

The first symptoms of want of discipline, the inevitable result of the temporary anarchy of Paris on the morning of the revolution, were quickly repressed, of their own accord. The soldiers, for a moment disbanded, had returned to their regiments, and had voluntarily submitted to that yoke of discipline which their patriotism made a duty, and their honor a virtue. The spirit of France showed itself in her army. The revolu-

tionary agitation did not pass the threshold of the barracks, Society felt that it had need of its force. The army preserved it untouched. Scarcely one or two light seditions, suppressed as soon as known, afflicted the government, in one or two regiments of cavalry and artillery. Some inferior officers endeavored to sow insubordination by the addresses of the clubs. The good sense of the soldiers, the impassibility of the officers, the energy of the minister, stifled at once these germs of military disorganization. Never did a national army present a more beautiful model of calmness in the midst of general commotion, of reasonable obedience to its chiefs, of fidelity to its flag, of attachment to the centre of power. It was the armed instinct of the country. These four months of incorruptibility during disorder, of resignation under its forced absence from Paris, of respect for its chiefs, of repressed impatience on the frontiers, and of moderation towards the people, are for the French army one of the most glorious campaigns of history. It shows how much the liberty and education poured into the bosom of our rural populations, since the termination of the wars of the empire, have changed the people, for the army is always the symptom of the true state of the people. When, after a commotion, the soldier remains a soldier, we may be sure that the revolution will not degenerate into anarchy.

A single painful symptom saddened the soul of the country, and recalled the hideous scenes of the first French revolution. This symptom was not the shame of the active army. It broke out in the idleness of that pompous establishment which Louis XIV. had founded for the veterans of war: *les Invalides*. It is just and glorious for a nation to provide, by pensions and retreats, for the old age and infirmities of those who have shed their blood and lost their limbs for it. But these pensions, these retreats, and these honors, ought to be paid at the residence and in the family of the invalid. A collection of three or four thousand military idlers, under a discipline necessarily mild, in a centre of disorder and vice, like a great capital, is a pomp for the country, but a danger for manners, for order, and military rule. An administration more modest, but more truly remunerating military service, would dissolve these collections of idleness, and would see in cottages those alms now wasted in palaces.

There had existed for a long time in the Hotel of the Invalides I know not what grievance, perpetually renewed, respecting the

food of the soldier. The administration was accused by those dull murmurs which precede seditions.

One evening, during the last days of March, Lamartine had just entered the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, after a sitting of nine hours at the Hôtel de Ville. They announced to him that a numerous deputation of Invalides, heated by anger and wine, had presented themselves at the office during his absence.

These men had posted up, in violent and improper terms, pretensions irreconcilable with order and the established rule. They had retired on learning the absence of the minister.

Hardly was Lamartine informed of this rumor, and these menaces, when they came to inform him of the insurrection of the Invalides. Some furious men, inflaming their comrades, had forced open the apartment of General Petit. General Petit, lieutenant-governor of the hotel, a brave and loyal officer, relic and honor of the old French army, was historically celebrated by the embrace he had received from Napoleon in the tragic scene of the adieux at Fontainebleau. Without respect for this souvenir, for his white hairs, or for the authority of the command, this group of seditious men had, in sight of three thousand veterans, silent or accomplices, torn the old general from his apartments. They had dragged him into the court, and bound him, like a criminal, upon a cart. They went out, accompanied by a hideous escort of those men and women of prey who present or follow victims. Two or three Invalides, mounted behind the cart, with drawn swords in their hands, addressed imprecations and appeals to the people. They went, they said, to demand justice of their commandant from the government. They followed the quays of the Seine. There was trembling lest a nocturnal crime might precipitate the general into the waves.

## XVIII.

At this news, Lamartine, who had just seated himself at table, interrupted his repast. He did not wait until they could bring him a carriage. He ran on foot, only accompanied by a secretary, towards the quays, where they said that the odious escort was to be met. Resolved to interpose between these seditious men and their victim, and to protect with his person the unfortunate general, he shuddered at the sinister consequences of a first outrage. He was indignant at this first example of crime, given by veterans, to a people thus far gentle and

humane, whom such an event might deprave. He informed himself at all the posts, and from all the passers by, of the direction followed by the cart. He sent to notify General Duvivier, commandant of the Guard Mobile, and the staff of the National Guard. He pursued his course, under a driving rain, upon the route of the cart, which the confused information he had received made him often lose and find again. Arrived at the Hôtel de Ville, he interrogated in vain M. Marrast. He went to the prefecture of police. M. Caussidière knew nothing of the matter. He resumed his course by the quays, with inexpressible anguish. He trembled lest the crime should have been accomplished in the shade, on some remote bank of the Seine. He learnt, in fine, that the unfortunate general, torn from the seditious upon the route of the Hôtel de Ville, by General Courvais, had received an asylum for the night at the quarters of the staff, in the square, and that his life was in safety.

At night, the government, seized with horror, deliberated respecting the consequences and the mode of punishing this outrage. The National Guard, while waiting its reorganization, only existed in its staff, in the mere frame-work of its corps, and in some good citizen-volunteers, who rushed of their own accord to meet the danger. There were no troops at Paris. To leave such a crime unpunished, was to abandon the reins of the army, to sanction want of discipline and sedition, from want of power to arrest the guilty. To arrest them in the midst of three thousand men, who had cannon, was to attempt an impossibility, and to expose themselves to see the authority of government broken, with scandal, in their hands. This last course, although desperate, was, however, that of honor and duty; the government chose it.

The minister of war, M. Arago, General Courvais, and M. Guinard, chief of the staff of the National Guard, charged themselves to execute it. They assembled, on the morning, some men of strong hearts, surrounded by General Petit, and went to the Champs de Mars, where two or three thousand men of the national workshops were employed. M. Arago and General Courtais harangued these workmen, recounted to them the outrages to which the living relic of our glory had been subjected, on the part of that undisciplined soldiery, and made them feel the necessity of lending their aid to the government against the insults which would dishonor the nation and destroy the army. Feeling and reason spoke then strongly to the



heart of the people. The workmen cried : *Vive le général ! Vive Arago ! Vive Courtais !* They offered to go themselves, and force reparation and obedience from these unworthy soldiers. MM. Arago, Courtais, and Guinard, entered at the head of these men into the court of the hotel, called together the Invalides, represented to them their shame and their crime, caused the principal culprits to be seized and imprisoned, without resistance, and reinstated General Petit, in the midst of acclamations of repentance and enthusiasm.

This act, and two or three others of the same vigor, accomplished by General Courtais or M. Arago, consolidated the army, and stopped every attempt at disorganization in the corps. These two ministers, by not doubting their own authority, had rendered it henceforth unquestionable. The army, on its part, rendered justice to the government. It did not suffer any inquisition over the opinions of its officers ; it adopted, in the name of the republic, all who served the country.

They had just added the office of minister of war to that of the marine, in the hands of M. Arago. This act of government was a mark of deference and well-merited confidence towards M. Arago, an injustice to General Subervie, and a surprise practised on some members of the government. Let us see how this change took place.

For some days vague complaints had been made against the minister of war. They supposed that the old age of General Subervie weighed upon his activity ; they feigned, at least, to believe it, for General Subervie had revived for the republic the fire of his youth. The true motive was, rather, that the new army was desirous of repudiating the veterans of the old army. The young officers of Africa wished, perhaps without avowing it, to take the predominant and exclusive authority in the office of the minister of war, which they hoped they would more completely retain under a minister who was a stranger to the army than under an old general of the republic and the empire.

For some time the generals, assembled in a council of defence, affected to deliberate without the minister of war, and to communicate directly, and without his intermediation, with the government. Some articles in the *National*, a journal which was wrongfully considered the organ of government, had just unexpectedly attacked the minister of war, and represented him as worn out or overwhelmed by the disproportioned weight of his age. These articles appeared to reveal the

first threads of a conspiracy, plotted in the very bosom of the government, against General Subervie. There was nothing in it; but the position of the minister appeared enfeebled by the suspicion alone. He was justly wounded at an opposition which appeared to have accomplices in the government itself. He complained of it once or twice to Lamartine, who endeavored to reässure him, and determined to support him. An incomplete session of the government, at which neither Lamartine, nor Flocon, nor Ledru Rollin, nor several other ministers, were present, caused the opinion of the *National*, and the soldiers opposed to Subervie, to prevail. That general was removed, and M. Arago received the provisional ministry of war. He was far from desiring it; he even resisted for a long time this double burden.

Lamartine received a visit from General Subervie at six o'clock in the evening, on his return from the Hôtel de Ville, where he had passed the day. The general informed him of what had just passed at the Luxembourg. "You see," said he to him, "that my suspicions were well founded, and that they only waited your absence, and that of some of your colleagues, to execute the proscription of the *National* and its friends." "It is nothing, in fact," replied Lamartine. "An act so important as the removal and nomination of the minister of war cannot be accomplished without the cognizance of the minister of foreign affairs, and in the absence of two or three members of government. I have promised to maintain you with all my efforts. I will keep my word, or I will declare myself in division with the government. To-morrow I will demand a new deliberation. I will protest against a resolution which removes you, and will cause the whole government to vote upon the question. I am confident that the republic will not be deprived of the indefatigable services you have rendered her since the first hour."—"No," returned the general, "it is sufficient for me to know that you would keep your word. I am sacrificed, without your participation in hostility or ambition. I do not wish the reparation you offer me. I should be unhappy if my name was the cause of division in the government. Besides, I see that I have enemies, either in its bosom or around it, who would not pardon my triumph over them, and who, in wishing to injure me, would injure the public cause. I am of the age of those soldiers who considered themselves as nothing, and who voluntarily sacrificed themselves for the country. I

wish to be worthy of my epoch." He embraced Lamartine, and withdrew.

As soon as M. Arago had taken the office, the generals, members of the council of defence, were occupied, under his presidency, with the reorganization of the army, upon the basis proposed by Lamartine, as minister of foreign affairs. The opposition which was apparent between him and them respecting the forty thousand men whom he wished to recall from Africa, and whom these generals wished to retain there, always existed, broke out many times into almost bitter discussions, and ended by being confined to the secret deliberations of the council of defence, working without the government, under the responsibility of the minister of war alone. The intelligence, activity, and energy of this council answered, nevertheless, for all the rest in the opinion of the government. M. Arago, pursuing the plans of General Subervie, and the generals by whom he was assisted, raised the army, in a few months, from three hundred and seventy thousand men, to four hundred and sixty-five thousand; the cavalry, from forty-six thousand, to seventy-five thousand; and the arms, equipments, uniforms, defence of the coasts, and the armament of the fortresses, followed in a proportion analogous to this development. The republic, counting its naval forces and its Guard Mobile, would have, before the month of October, an army of five hundred and eighty thousand men, without comprising the three hundred battalions of the Guard Mobile in the departments, demanded at a later period by Lamartine and Flocon as a reserve, decreed by the provisional government, and voted by the National Assembly. I shall return to the double motive of this last establishment, the persevering project of Lamartine for the interest of the forces to be employed abroad, and for the internal union of the republic, against the foreseen assaults to be made upon society.

### XIX.

M. Bethmont, minister of commerce and agriculture, had for his task, at this moment, when all commerce was suspended, to console and mitigate the distresses of labor. No character was more appropriate than his for such a part. Patient, serene, resigned, attentive, eloquent, full of soul and compassion for the anguish of his fellow-beings, M. Bethmont gave to the republic the character of probity, solicitude, and sympathy, which he had himself. Assiduous and reflective at the sit-

tings, he profited by the leisure which his office allowed him, to assist in the council of government. He was always ranged on the side of moderation, law, and republican order, on the model of the great magistrates of the Assembly of 1790. His place should have been at the head of the magistracy.

M. Marie, more active by temperament, more bold in ideas, more universal and enterprising in affairs, temporized with the public works, too long suspended, and too much subject to routine. One of the political and social solutions of the crisis had been, according to the opinion of some members of the government, a large recruiting of men out of employment, to be suddenly thrown on some great works of public improvement of the soil of France. Lamartine thought with them in this respect. Some socialists, at first moderate and politic, afterwards irritated and factious, urged government to carry out this project. A great campaign in the interior, with tools for weapons, like the campaigns of the Romans or Egyptians, to excavate canals or drain the Pontine marshes, appeared to them the palliative indicated to a republic which wished to remain in peace, and save property by protecting it, and by elevating the position of the destitute. It was the opinion of the hour. A great office of public works would have been the era of a policy appropriate to the situation. It was one of the great faults of the government to wait too long before carrying its opinions into action. While it was waiting, the national workshops, increased by misery and want of employment, became, from day to day, more dull, more unprofitable, and more menacing for public order.

At this time they had not yet reached this point. They were only an expedient of order, and a draft of public assistance, commanded on the morning of the revolution, by the necessity of nourishing the people, and of not supporting them in idleness, to avoid the disorders which must arise from it. M. Marie organized them with intelligence, but without utility for productive labor. He formed them into brigades; he gave them chiefs. He inspired them with a spirit of discipline and order. He made them, during four months, instead of a force at the mercy of the socialists and insurgents, a pretorian but idle army in the hands of power, commanded, directed, and controlled by chiefs who entertained the secret opinions of the anti-socialist party of the government. These workshops counterbalanced, until the arrival of the National Assembly, the sectarian workmen of the Luxembourg, and the seditious work-



men of the clubs. They scandalized the people of Paris by their multitude and the uselessness of their labors, but they many times protected and saved Paris, without its knowledge. Very far from being in the pay of Louis Blanc, as it was said, they were inspired by the spirit of his adversaries.

At first they only amounted to twenty thousand. But each day brought to them a new reinforcement of misery and idleness. The unexpected and sudden work of the fortifications had called and stationed at Paris a mass of forty thousand additional workmen, who, once established in the capital, did not wish to leave it. These men, plasterers or masons, had none of the conditions of a settled population. The republic thus expiated the imprudence of the monarchy. The works of luxury, which are the first injured by crises, ceased in all the manufactories of Paris. The savings of the workmen were wasted. The wants of their families made themselves cruelly felt. The rich manufacturers, generous towards their workmen, retained a part at half wages. In certain manufactories, a half of the workmen, instead of laboring all the week, worked four days, while the other half rested; then they quitted the workshop to rest, in their turn, and left the place to their comrades; but, from week to week, great manufactories were closed, and the two hundred thousand workmen who had peopled the workshops of Paris thus came successively to enroll themselves in this temporary army of the national workshops.

To these workmen of the hand were joined soon laborers in the liberal arts, who had also exhausted their last resources; artists, designers, compositors, the employés of the book-trade, clerks in the shops, men of letters, actors; men who had only handled the graver, the press, or the pen, came courageously to demand at the workshops the pickaxe or mattock, to dig the ground in the Champ-de-Mars, and to labor in the different timber-yards which were assigned them.

They met in the morning on the boulevard, at the Champs Elysées, in all the quarters of the faubourgs, in small detachments of from twenty to a hundred men, of all ages and costumes, marching, preceded by a banner, and conducted to labor by a brigadier. These men were sad in countenance, but at first serious and patient. It was seen that they had the honorable feeling of the painful duty which they were performing for their families, and of the duties which the government fulfilled towards them, in giving them aid by labor. Unfortu-

nately, this labor, badly organized, was only a pretext for public assistance, an expedient for the emergency, to prevent scarcity, trouble, and despair. They returned at evening, in the same order, to their different quarters. They formed the police, and exercised a voluntary and mutual discipline among themselves. Their wages were paid them every Saturday. This was not an organization of government, as they wished to have it believed at a later period. It was a sacred alms, indispensable to the state, honored by the appearance of labor. These workshops of Paris, which the same necessity caused to be organized by instinct in all the industrial towns, disaccustomed, it is true, many workmen to serious labor; but they saved the masses from hunger and despair, society from trouble, and property from ravage.

The government had but one wrong in principle. This was, not to apply these workshops to great labors of public utility, and not to disperse, at a distance from Paris and the great towns, the fire of sedition. When they wished to do so, it was too late. Their army was increased to a hundred and eighty thousand men in Paris. It would require another army to constrain them to evacuate the capital. They tolerated them, through humanity and necessity, until, the revolutionary epoch having been passed, private labor was allowed to reabsorb these elements, and public authority, reestablished, could control their seditions.

Such were the national workshops, which have been represented as a system, but which were only a passing expedient, terrible but necessary. The prudent members of the government did not cease to consider, with fear, the moment when sedition should be introduced into this germ of misery and idleness, and when it would be necessary to dissolve it by prudence or force. Sedition was not introduced until after the arrival of the National Assembly at Paris. This was the almost inevitable rock of the first regular government of the republic. We shall see, further on, how it avoided running aground upon it.

## XX.

Of all the republican institutions, that of public instruction and elementary education, given gratuitously to the people, was one of the most organic and most vital. The civilization of a people is contained in its germ in its institutions of education. While one generation grows up and dies, another generation is

born, and advances upon its steps to replace it. The traditions of the first are the patrimony of the second. Humanity has thus an immortal child to instruct and educate.

The government, too much preoccupied by the tempest without and within, against which it struggled, had not time to ripen, in a few days and nights wasted in the storms of the public square, perfected plans of popular education. But it wished to perform this promise of the republic to the people, and prepare the way for the National Assembly.

A man of an ancient mould, of a tender soul, and firm spirit, despised and calumniated afterwards for some words imprudently signed in the tumult of incessant labors, and interpreted, by the malignity of party spirit, in a sense belied by his nature and his entire life, M. Carnot, was intrusted with this task. The thought of the revolution was what it ought to be, to disseminate education among the people by an institution of education emanating from the republic itself; to render obligatory the general and neutral elementary part of this instruction, from a kind of sense of the intellectual light which a truly moral society owes to all those who are born in its bosom; not to enslave the soul of children to the monopolizing control of a board of education, but to give to society that which belongs to society, to the family that which belongs to the family, and to God that which belongs to God. Republican instruction can combine all this, by a strong organization of the university, and by a complete system of liberty of education, in concurrence with the institution of instruction of the state.

The rational republic could not wish either to enchain the civilization and the conscience of the clergy, or to interpose a profane hand between the religion of the father and the soul of the child. It ought, then, to free the religious conscience from the tyranny of the state, as it ought to emancipate the intelligence of the imposed supremacy of dogmas. Its thought, like that of the future, was the intellectual as well as the civil liberty of worship; faith, individualized in man; God free to manifest himself, and to shine forth, through reason; constantly increasing in the human mind the religious sentiment only, under all its forms, but instituted, propagated, honored, and cultivated, as the universal creed in all spiritualized society.

M. Carnot thought and acted in this spirit. He had at his side, in M. Reynaud, his under-secretary of state, the traditions of the philosophical epoch, corrected by the religious sentiment, and applied by the democratic sentiment, together with

the intelligence of the constituent assembly, the fraternal instincts of the true republic, the toleration, liberty, and moderation of our own age. Such was the spirit of this minister. He was the man, of all, who had the most time to reflect, and who meditated to the best advantage.

The first act of M. Carnot was a circular to the clergy, to declare that the republic wished to be religious, to encourage them to reënter their temples, venerated by the people, and protected by the government. He proposed two laws; the first respecting primary instruction, by which he reconciled the three principles announced above, obligation, gratuity, and liberty of education. This law made the teacher a public functionary of morals and intelligence. He founded the school of administration, a school which had the fault of being devoted to one, instead of being specially adapted to each, branch of administration. He elevated the position of teachers. He established the maternal school, nursery of charity, to form the adoptive mothers of the halls of asylum. He developed agricultural education in the primary schools. He proposed the adoption, by the state, of chosen pupils, who manifested remarkable abilities in any department. He reëstablished the lyceums, and ordered there the study of the French revolution. He repressed with energy the want of discipline which the reaction of the crisis of February had given cause to dread. He proposed a free athenæum, as a completion of the higher studies, and the public courts, exercising the mind of youth to the loftiest speculations of philosophy. He organized public lectures, to occupy the leisure hours of the people. He encouraged popular literature, which is almost entirely wanting in France. He gave directions and prizes for this mode of diffusing thought.

He was deceived by the bad compilation of these popular books. They reproached him for these evil publications, for which he was only responsible by the omission of his censure. He gave, like the ancients, by instruction in music, a precept for the elevation and refinement of the moral and enlightened sense of the people. He grouped round him, as a philosophical and literary council, the highest and purest names in philosophy and republican literature, among the number of whom the people beheld Béranger, the man whom they love.

A phrase, improperly written, and falsely interpreted, in a circular of M. Carnot, has since weighed heavily on his administration, and effaced the memory of all his services. It had



no other meaning than to complete the representation of agriculture, by saying to the cultivators that they were better suited to know and advance their own interests than more learned representatives, who were strangers to the soil. M. Carnot, when informed of this erroneous interpretation, rectified it immediately himself, in terms which leave no doubt of his good faith.

"They have represented," said he, "my circular of the sixth of March as a complement of those of the minister of the interior. It is necessary I should explain myself. Two opposite tendencies are personified to the eyes of the public, above all, in M. de Lamartine, and in the minister of the interior. I have only need to say that my sympathies belong to the first." Carnot, in fact, was the last of men whom they could accuse of the violence or brutality of the demagogue. If the new republic had had to present a model of intelligent and moral republicanism to its friends or its enemies, it is upon him that it would have cast its eyes. He expiates his words, and they forget his thoughts and acts. But the man is safe, and the republic will, sooner or later, need to find him again.

The minister of justice had, after the ministers of the interior and of war, to decide upon the greatest number of points important in themselves and in their consequences. M. Crémieux touched them all with such precision, that the constituent assembly converted nearly all the decrees of this minister into laws.

Respecting the measures which concerned the minister of the interior, they especially consisted in despatching commissioners and sub-commissioners, destined to replace the prefects and sub-prefects in the departments. Nearly all the departments, without waiting orders from Paris, had, of their own accord, and without violence, transformed their monarchical into a republican administration. Nowhere had a prefect, a general, or a soldier, resisted. They said that the revolution, already accomplished in their minds, had only to be named to be recognized. Everywhere, and without a contest, the citizens remarkable for their opposition had been surrounded, on the arrival of the news of affairs at Paris, by their fellow-citizens, conducted to the hotel of the prefecture, or of the sub-prefecture, and there had received peacefully the reins of administration from the hands of the old authorities. Everywhere, also, and with the same harmony, the councils of prefecture, the mayors, and the provisional councils of municipi-

pality, had been changed or recruited by new members having the confidence of the people. Anarchy had not a minute to introduce itself between the two governments.

These new authorities were obeyed, from instinct, with even more unanimity than the old ones. It was said that all France had a genius for revolutions, and accomplished this complete transformation from a monarchical to a republican order as an army accomplishes a manœuvre to which it has been practised by discipline. This is one of the fruits of those thirty years of constitutional liberty which France has practised since 1814. Liberty and reason progress with equal steps among the people.

The minister of the interior, M. Ledru Rollin, confirmed most of those first chosen commissioners by the people of the departments. He sent others to them from Paris. Their wise selection showed the high and liberal spirit of conciliation which the majority of the government, and the minister of the interior himself, wished at first to manifest, and to present to the departments, as a model of republican administration.

To follow the good spirit of the departments, shown in their spontaneous elections; not to constrain, but to seduce, their confidence, by the esteem with which their rulers should inspire them; to moderate what might be excessive; to temper what might be too burning; to stimulate the lukewarm; to find the reins of government in the hearts of good citizens; not to leave the excited population time to perceive an interval in the execution of the laws of public order; to prevent, at any cost, civil wars, and the effusion of a drop of blood; to compassionate, console, and protect the vanquished; to ennoble the enthusiasm of the conquerors by their own generosity; to forget the mutual grievances among the parties, and to merge in the national family all those who are united in the love of country and the defence of society;—such were the intentions unanimously expressed in the council by the members of government, constantly commented on by Lamartine, in his harangues to the deputations from the departments, and to the people at the Hôtel de Ville, or on the public square; and written in the first instructions to the commissioners of government by the minister of the interior.

The greater part of these first commissioners were members of the Chamber of Deputies, known by their moderate opposition to the old government; editors of democratic journals, accredited by the esteem which they enjoyed; the advocates of

the republican press of Paris, and above all the *National*. The minister of the interior joined to them the advocates of the journal *La Réforme*, the most active and revolutionary centre of conspiracies opposed to monarchy; and, in fine, a very small number of the followers of the socialist schools, men, at first, as moderate in action as they were bold in ideas.

## XXI.

These hurried selections, made, so to speak, at the cry of the emergency, and at the indication of the different parties, did not at first excite any question. The minister pointed out to his agents the spirit of his administration, in a first circular of the eighth of March. This circular said: "All France has but one voice, as she has but one soul. This union of all in one opinion is the most certain pledge of the duration of the republic; it should become the source of moderation after victory. Your first care must be, to have it understood that the republic should be exempt from all ideas of vengeance and réaction. Yet this generosity should not degenerate into weakness. In your abstinence from all investigations as to opinions and former acts, take as your rule, that all political functions, in whatever degree of the administration they may be, can only be intrusted to proved republicans, — in a word, all men of the evening, and none of the morning."

The first words of these instructions were entirely in the spirit of the government; the last were a proscription of France. To proscribe in France all that was not republican of the evening was to alienate her from the republic. The republic, by alienating from it the majority of France, would become a government of a minority. A government of a minority must intimidate the majority, — that is to say, the nation, — in order to establish and maintain itself. The republic of the twenty-fourth of February would thus become degraded and perverted.

The radical difference between the members of government, as to the manner of understanding and administering the republic, was unfortunately revealed in these first words. It was evident that the posthumous and dictatorial conventionalist spirit of the advocates of *La Réforme* sought to draw away the internal policy into the path of proscription and revolutionary intimidation. Although their acts were tolerant, their words were bitter. This was sufficient to disturb the country, at a time when it was necessary to reässure it, and to rally it in a body round the republic.

This unexpected insult, offered to all those who only admitted the republic on the condition they might bring to it the fulness of their honor and their rights, excited the first resentments and raised the first umbrage. Nevertheless, the measures of the minister of the interior, and of the majority of the commissioners whom he had appointed, did not, at first, correspond in any respect with this language. The words appeared a concession to a violent party, in order to refuse them acts. They were spread, without the government thinking it worth while to take them back and deny them. The minister of the interior, absorbed in the vastness of the details of his department, could not be made substantially answerable for all that was published under his moral responsibility; he even assisted but rarely in the deliberations of the government, which were still held at the Hôtel de Ville, in the midst of the constant concourse of the people. He governed by himself that part of the public service which had been assigned to him.

Lamartine, on his part, administered with absolute independence the foreign policy, and that portion of the public spirit which corresponded with his views. Each minister was sovereign in his centre of action; they only submitted to each other very important questions, which were bound up in the general policy of the government.

Louis Blanc and Albert, previously allied with the party of *La Réforme*, surrounded themselves with other active men of this party, and sought to disseminate, some their socialist doctrine, others their republican grievances. Flocon, a mind more politic than speculative, endeavored to restore to an equilibrium these pretensions of the socialists and extreme republicans. We owe to him much of the mild disposition which the two parties of government had the wisdom to preserve towards each other, in order not to openly break the apparent unity which prevented civil war in the country.

Caussidière, a supple and designing spirit, under a rude and uncultivated exterior, apparently leaned towards the policy of the minister of the interior. But he was served by his friends to promote his own importance, yet more than he served them. A man of action, in contact with the people, surrounded by a soldiery ready for everything, his friends could do nothing without him. He affected an independence which made him sometimes suspected and sometimes dreaded by them. The party of the *National* was in opposition to Caussidière. This party believed that the prefect of police was the agent and support of the minister of the interior against them.



Lamartine understood, at a glance, that there was an immense part to be played by Caussidière for the reëstablishment of order, and that it was necessary to increase his power against his most dangerous enemies. He showed him confidence. He urged him to demand from government the most extensive powers, and the largest foundations for the police. He took the initiative in the council in his favor, for the creation of an armed municipal corps, a republican guard, protectors of Paris, under the immediate orders of the prefect of police. He saw him sometimes in private. He conversed with him confidentially and frankly respecting the general domestic and foreign policy. He did not conceal from himself the complex situation and the ambition of the part of Caussidière; but he saw probity in that ambition, loyalty in that artifice. Caussidière had a heart. That heart was honest and generous. One could trust, if not to his opinions, at least to his nature. He could dream of great revolutionary acts, never of crimes. A man of combat, and not of anarchy, he aspired to promptly regulate the victory, to preserve the confidence of the friends who had conspired and fought with him, to acquire the esteem of the vanquished, the gratitude of Paris, to legitimate his conquest by his services, and to change the conspirator into a magistrate. He loved the people, but he did not flatter them in their excesses, nor even in their dreams.

Lamartine often spoke to him of the danger of the communist publications of his friends at the Luxembourg, and of the necessity of confining these theories of social destruction to measures for institutions of assistance, education, alms, labor, and access to property, for the destitute. Caussidière was entirely of that opinion. "Socialism does not infect me," replied he, with disdain. "Order, labor, fraternity in action, and no chimeras!"

He powerfully aided Lamartine to restrain the Polish, German, Belgian and Italian refugees, who wished to draw the republic into wars of forced aggression for the interests of foreign factions. At the beginning, these conspiracies had secretly appeared, if not openly favored, at least tolerated and encouraged, by some men closely united with the government. Lamartine made Caussidière comprehend the danger of these attempts, which would rouse Europe against the republic, and would form again a coalition. A policy more loyal, and more able in its loyalty, made this coalition impossible.

## XXII.

A woman remarkable by her style, and an orator of distinction, Madame Sand and M. Jules Favre, then lent the assistance of their talent to the ministry of the interior.

Madame Sand, hastening at the intelligence of the revolution, had seen Lamartine on her arrival at Paris. The minister of foreign affairs had labored to win to his views this genius, of masculine form, and feminine in the mobility of its convictions. He had had an interview of several hours with this woman, who was so important in a crisis in which the popular tempest could be governed only by the winds which were directed on its waves. He had convinced Madame Sand that the safety of the new institutions could exist only in the sudden, energetic and complete repudiation of the excesses and crimes which had dishonored and destroyed the first revolution. He had conjured her to lend the strength with which God had endowed her to the cause of order and the *moralization* of the people. She had promised him to do so, with that accent of passionate enthusiasm which reveals the sincerity of convictions. She had asked for a few days only, to go into Berri to arrange her affairs. On her return, she would edit a popular sheet, which should sow in the minds of the masses principles of peace, discipline, and fraternity, to which her pen and name would have given the *prestige* and renown of her popularity. She departed with this intention. On her return, the former predilections of her mind for the adventurous theories of socialism attached her, through Louis Blanc, to a centre of opposite policy. Lamartine learned that she was editing an official sheet, entitled the Bulletin of the Republic, at the ministry of the interior. This sheet, inflamed by the inspirations of communism, recalled in terms the unlucky reminiscences of the first republic. It rendered some fanatic from impatience, others from terror.

The majority of the council, on being informed of the existence of this bulletin, groaned over this perversion of a talent of the first order, which thus placed under the responsibility of the government words and doctrines in open contradiction with its spirit. The minister of the interior did not have leisure personally to supervise this sheet, which emanated from his bureaux. He did not defend its injurious exaggerations. It was agreed that none of these bulletins should be issued to the departments until after having passed an examination by

one of the members of the government. They divided the days of the week for this purpose. The innumerable details with which they were charged, and the urgent occurrences which constantly sprang up with the days, compelled them frequently to neglect this duty. Favored by this neglect, some more bulletins slipped out, and carried scandals and firebrands of opinion into the departments. Some commissaries wisely assumed the responsibility of forbidding their advertisement and publication in the communes.

### XXIII.

Meanwhile Paris, though erect, was calm. The government had convoked all France to the elections of the 24th of April. It was the time strictly necessary for the material operations of the mechanism of universal suffrage.

The attempt at this great installation of the sovereignty of the people appeased the mass of minds, but irritated others. Two months more of revolution and dictatorship to pass, seemed two centuries. The ultra-revolutionary party flattered themselves that these two months, harassed by events, different factions, threats of war without and trouble and misery within, would not permit the government to realize this great act. Between it and the 24th of April a thousand abysses were to be seen, in which it would be precipitated before reaching the day it had fixed for restoring power to the nation.

## BOOK XI.

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### I.

THE moderate party of the government—and then it was almost unanimous—looked from afar with hope to the moment when the nation, evoking from its bosom all its rights and all its forces, should come itself to its own aid, and seize alone upon its revolution. The party of anarchy and terror, outside, looked with trembling to this hour, which must deprive it of all the chances of prolonging its reign and subverting authority. This party, stifled in the first days by the defeat it had met with at the Hôtel de Ville, and by the enthusiasm of order and moderation which breathed from the entire soul of the people, began to attempt to pervert the republic in clubs.

Clubs—revolutionary institutions, or rather results—are nothing less than a tumultuous, regulated, and periodical mob; the public square compressed into a narrower space, but animated by the same passions, overthrown by the same storms. They have even a greater danger than the public square—they have the spirit of sect, and the combined discipline of parties. As soon as order was restored in the street by the spontaneous good sense of the people, and by the inspirations and vigilance of growing power, clubs were formed in all the quarters of Paris. The government could not have opposed them, without belying its nature, and misconceiving its situation. The clubs, at such a time, were only the ruling voices of public opinion—the deliberative bodies of the revolution.

Some men, too much frightened at analogies with the Jacobin association, were afraid that the republic would be lost, and the government enthralled, the day they witnessed the formation of the first clubs. Others understood the difference which existed between a single revolutionary club, linking to itself the entire spirit of a revolution, like the Jacobins, and ruling the Convention itself, and a multitude of clubs, animated by different minds, diverging in aim and theories—some presenting an



opposition and counterpoise to others, rendered unpopular in advance, in the minds of citizens, by the sad remembrances of 1793, and offering, on the contrary, to a skilful and firm government, points of support and points of resistance against the dangerous unity of a single faction. Thus the members of the provisional government did not feel that terror with which some sought to inspire them. "I should tremble," said Lamartine to the alarmists, "if there were only a club of Jacobins, and I should not even attempt to struggle against such a union, except by an insurrection of the departments. I should surrender to it the victory and the empire. But with clubs numerous, free, equally without privileges and restraints, I fear nothing but confused or isolated attempts, against which the public mind and the clubs themselves will serve us against the clubs. Let them summon me! I am ready to present myself, like Dumourier in 1792, and to take up discussions and accusations with their orators."

## II.

In fact, Lamartine himself aided good citizens to hire halls, to establish offices, and to found well-disposed clubs in different quarters of Paris, to employ of evenings the dangerous idleness of the people, and to direct their minds in the sense of his policy. He also entered into indirect relations with the most vehement and ill-disposed clubs, to watch over their outbreaks, and to have their incendiary motions refuted by orators who should neutralize seditions.

With the exception of a few madmen in the Paris National Club, who demanded that Lamartine should be accused, asking for his head, and who were hooted and driven from the tribune by the audience, the spirit of the clubs had been excellent, and their action generally useful, up to this time. The pressure of sound public sense bore upon bad citizens. The sentiment of their unanimity strengthened the good. To facilitate these meetings, the mayor of Paris had provisionally placed at their disposal many public buildings, halls of refuge, or exhibition rooms. The greater number of the clubs were thus in harmony with the government itself, and propagated its ideas of order, patriotism, investigation, and conciliation, in the multitude. One fact gave them a new and more characteristic aspect.

The government had thrown open the dungeons in which the precursors of the republic, convicted of plots or attempts against

the throne, had been languishing for many years; two of these first combatants in the democratic cause had just come out of prison: they were Blanqui and Barbès. Lamartine did not know Blanqui; he became acquainted with Barbès in the following manner:—

Barbès had been condemned to death by the court of peers under the last government. At four o'clock on the morning of the day on which the criminal was to be executed, a young woman presented herself at Lamartine's door, and asked to see him. Lamartine rose and went to receive her. The young woman threw herself, in tears, at his feet, told him that she was the sister of Barbès, and entreated him to save her brother. Lamartine had no relations with the court; he remembered that he had some with M. de Montalivet, the minister and friend of the king. He hastened to him. M. de Montalivet, a generous man, whose impulses were no more deliberate than his courage, was very ill. He weighed neither his health nor his strength; he rose, and was conducted to Neuilly. The king, whose feeling anticipated that of his minister, granted the criminal his life.

But during this interview at Neuilly, the *émeute* of April was muttering in Paris; the musketry was ringing in the streets, and the Chamber of Deputies was girded with cannon and troops. At this sight Lamartine was afraid that the government would have the sentence executed, for fear that pardon would appear weakness and concession to the insurgents; but soon a second message from M. de Montalivet satisfied him. The king persisted in sparing life — Barbès was saved. The sister of the criminal was waiting for his sentence in one of the bureaux of the Chamber of Deputies. Lamartine restored her to life in bearing her that of her brother. She fainted as she kissed his hands.

Seven years had passed since the occurrence of this scene, when, some months before the revolution of February, Lamartine received two letters from Barbès, which the condemned had found means of concealing from the jailers of his dungeon at Nîmes. These letters said to Lamartine: "I owe you existence; after God, you are my savior. If I ever leave these walls, overthrown by the certain triumph of the republic, my first visit will be to him with whom my gratitude has need of relieving itself; and I hope that after having saved me, he will also save my country."

Barbès had kept his word. The next day after his arrival in

Paris, he had come to throw himself into the arms of Lamartine. "I am doubly happy at your deliverance," said the minister of foreign affairs to him; "you are free, and it is the republic, the government of your predilections, which receives you to liberty. You can be very useful to it at this time. The people, with no other curb than our words, have need of being directed and moderated. They will listen to you; you are one of their martyrs; your words will be their oracles. Counsel them, not with the anger of a combatant, but with the generosity of a conqueror, and the coolness of a statesman. The republic has no more dangers to incur, except from its excesses. Show as much heroism in restraining, as you did courage and impatience in anticipating it. Ideas only become government on condition of being regulated by order and strength. Forget the traditions of the first republic, and help us to found one which is neither stained by anarchy nor scaffolds, and which by degrees reconciles all grievances in all rights."

Such were the words of Lamartine. Barbès heard them with all the tokens of a heartfelt and mental acquiescence.

"These ideas," said he, "are the same that I have myself matured in my captivity and my political religion. I do not wish to employ the influence which my reputation as a victim will give me over the people, except to direct them in this sense. But I have been a stranger for some years to the political world. I was young when I was thrown into irons. I am acquainted with neither things nor men. Will you permit me to consult you from time to time, that I may regain the true path if my ignorance of affairs should cause me to deviate involuntarily?"

Lamartine promised to open his heart to him whenever he desired it. He advised him not to league himself with those who would confound democracy and demagogueism, or would seek to ameliorate the social condition of the proletaries by the subversion of property, the common basis which supports everything, and without which proprietors and proletaries would sink together in common ruin.

He found in Barbès the instincts of an enthusiastic but honest heart, and that disposition for moderation and conciliation between classes which he desired. This disposition lasted some time. It would have lasted always if Barbès had not been soon attracted by another focus of opinions. He replunged into his ideas of the radical levelling of conditions and fortunes, the eternal *mirage* of the zealots of the absolute equality of property, from the first Christians and the Gracchi to Barbeuf

and Marat ; virtue in principle, fraternity in institutions, frenzy and crime in revolutionary realization.

Barbès was afterwards chosen colonel of the legion of the 12th arrondissement of Paris. He founded a club which took his name. The doctrines of socialism were there mingled with the energy of republicanism. The name of Barbès sounded in the ears of the people like a tocsin against monarchy and the bourgeoisie. Barbès spoke little and without brilliancy, but he had the tone of a soldier and the faith of a martyr. He was a Spartacus come from the dungeons. He resembled the statue of the avenging slave ; beautiful, but withered by irons, and devoured by the inextinguishable flame of revolutions.

Barbès spoke many times with bitterness to Lamartine of another man, his rival in conspiracy and captivity, whom a fatal coincidence of chances had just delivered, like himself, and rendered suspected by his accomplices. This man was Blanqui.

### III.

While Lamartine was yet permanently seated at the Hôtel de Ville, some partial hand, for the sake of certain compromised men, had stolen several secret papers deposited in the portfolios of the ministry. Among the papers was an unsigned disclosure made to the king, respecting the plots of secret societies. This revelation was evidently the work of a superior and intelligent leader of these societies. This paper had been imprudently exposed to the curiosity of a collector of documents, who had allowed it to circulate. A clamor of deep indignation had instantly accused Blanqui.

Blanqui had just opened a club. He spoke there with talent, but up to this time with moderation. He directed it with the indefatigable genius of conspiracy. He gathered renown and popularity there, to recruit an army of ultra opinions.

These rumors reached even him, and surrounded him with doubt and discontent, detracted from the influence of his name, and withdrew the crowd who had listened to him from his club. His old accomplices, and particularly Barbès, summoned him to exculpate himself, tried him, and sentenced him at the bar of republican opinion. Blanqui disappeared for several days from his club, like a man contaminated by suspicion, prepared his written defence, and circulated it in Paris.

His defence, without completely clearing him of certain vague revelations touching things and not persons, yet shielded



him sufficiently to permit him to resume his part and influence in a club composed of his partisans. He returned to it. His return was made a triumph. The shadow which had for a moment fallen on him made it imperative for him to exaggerate his republicanism, and display more fire in his passion in the tribune. His club became the focus of all the exaggerations and furies of demagogues. Still, as these exaggerations and bursts of fury were only the play of words and reminiscences having no true relation to the nature of the people, the revolution, and the times, men went to this club as they go to an historical theatre to see actors clothed in antique costume represent upon the stage dramas or parodies of another epoch. Men of the noblesse and the bourgeoisie, who were insulted and menaced by the orators of this club, were present from curiosity to hear, from a distance and without fear, the bellowings of Babeuf or Marat.

Blanqui himself sported with the fear his name occasioned, and played the fury the more in that he did not feel it or wish to spread it among the masses. He even flattered adroitly with look and gesture those whom he threatened with his voice. He was a tribune, but a tribune who seemed to have more policy than faith. A superior man, in tact, intellect and popular diplomacy, to all the leaders of the moment, he disconcerted by going beyond them, and constantly challenged them to surpass him.

On leaving his club, he disappeared in the shade, did not meddle with the movements of the government, or the multitude, lived hidden in a garret, revealed his residence only to a small sect of friends and satellites, such as Lacambre, and Flotte, and only showed himself in the night, miserably clad, to interest the people by displaying, in his person, the stains and miseries of proletarianism. His speech was not eloquent, but it was penetrating, adroit, and thoughtful. A plan, a line, means, and an end, were perceptible. His club was not a vain echo of tumultuous passions, like the other anti-social clubs; it was a revolutionary instrument, the stops of which he managed with his hand, so as to excite and direct the passions of the masses. Still, the pressure of good sense and general reason was then so preponderant, that Blanqui's club gave neither anxiety nor terror to the reflecting members of the government. The talk held there created a scandal useful, rather than injurious, to the cause of the regular republic. The actors in this tribune were like the drunken helot, who



BLANQUIN'S CLUB.

LIBRARY  
OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

was exhibited to the Spartans to disgust them with intemperance.

## IV.

Raspail, less politic but more sectarian than Blanqui, by his name, by his journal, and his club, exercised a more moderate but more intimate ascendancy over the faubourgs. Fifteen or twenty thousand men of these quarters, the true Mount Aventine of Paris, attended his sessions, loved his person, and enjoyed his voice. Raspail tended to communism in his doctrines and discourses; but his communism of sentiment rather than subversion was stamped with an inoffensive philosophy, and a practical charity, which aspired to equality by voluntary levelling, and not by violent appropriation. He excited the people by hope, without exciting them by hatred against the rich and happy. His social philosophy contained no imprecations against society, still less against government. He preached patience, order, and peace. Only he promised more than the republic could keep. His vague and golden theories were of the nature of the clouds, which present a thousand perspectives to the imagination, but which can be reached only by a look.

## V.

Cabet, another founder of a sect, had opened in the centre of Paris, in the rue Saint Honoré, a club, where he ruled seven or eight thousand souls. He was the poet of communism. He had dreamed of a chimerical Salentum, which he called Icaria. There, all inequalities, all indigence, even all asperities of labor, would disappear in a fantastic organization, whose elements were only incoherent hypotheses, furnished by an imagination not very rich, even in idealities.

The son of an artisan of Dijon, brought up for the magistracy, a deputy from his native city in 1830, thrown out of politics by his expulsion from the Chamber in 1834, banished to Belgium, returning to Paris after the term of his sentence, Cabet had been thrown back into the bosom of proletarianism, from which he sprung, to search in it a point of support for his ideas and his action. The most suffering and most ignorant portion of the working-men of Paris were attached to his doctrines. Delirium is the product and consolation of extreme sufferings. Cabet was the philosopher and high priest of this religion of



well-being. But this religion was without God. The satisfaction of pure material instincts, mechanically combined in an inverse order to all known social order, was the whole of the system. It was not the sanguinary, but the gross worship of alimentary life. Idea, like divinity, was wanting to this world. Cabet, before the revolution of February, had often come to entertain Lamartine with his utopia. Lamartine did not flatter him. He rudely predicted that the soil of France would rise of itself against the experiment of these chimeras, and that communism would be engulfed in the first furrow it should attempt to usurp. He had advised him not to wait for this day of insurrection against the impossible, and to resume his idea in a regular and legal colonization and settlement in the forests of the new world.

"You would thus commence by an association of planters, sheltered by a proprietary civilization, which will protect you against your own anarchy, as it does the Quakers, and then property will introduce itself into your agricultural colony; and if the chimera deceive you, the land will, at least, nourish your unfortunate sectaries!"

Cabet had seized this idea. He was going to transplant his systems into America, where he solicited a grant. The republic had surprised him still at Paris. His sect thought they saw in it a realization of their association on the soil of their country. Cabet sustained them in their hopes, and kept them in order and respect for persons and property. Far from preaching insurrection to his adepts, he preached patience and the horror of anarchy to them. He flattered himself, it was said, that he should win, by his ascendancy over this portion of the people, that share of the popular dictatorship which a revolution brings close to every grasp.

## VI.

Other clubs, governed by men hitherto less known, collected, occupied, and agitated, every evening, the populous quarters of Paris. The club of the Quinze-Vingts and the club of the Sorbonne excited most attention from the statesmen of government. They moved the most idle, numerous, and irresponsible masses of the laboring quarters. The minister of the interior had his agents there, who gave the minister a daily account of the spirit of these popular meetings. Lamartine had them watched on his side. He neutralized their bad tendencies by

warmly favoring their contrary tendencies, and by suggestions communicated to their orators against the instigations of anarchists, communists, and foreign agitators.

These foreign agitators filled the government with the most serious anxiety. Paris was full of Polish refugees, Belgian conspirators, German demagogues, and Italian patriots, awakened or attracted by the explosion of a revolution, which they wished to make a European focus for the conflagration of the entire continent. Eight days after the revolution there were more than fifteen thousand of them in Paris. The Italians, a more intelligent and a more naturally politic people, did not cause any embarrassment to the government. They did not attempt to throw an anarchy, contrary to their natures, into a new-born republic, whose cradle they embraced with hope. This republic would, sooner or later, if well directed, grow up to their advantage, and extend over them a salutary influence and a legitimate protection, from the summit of the Alps.

But the Belgians were fermenting. Their emissaries were bound by preceding plots to some of the secondary men who surrounded the government. They darkly formed with them plans for republican insurrection in Belgium. They promised to drag France, in spite of herself, into the invasions which, after having indirectly kindled the fire at Brussels, would extend to the Rhenish provinces, and in thus fermenting universal war, would insure the triumph of the war of demagogueism in France itself.

Irishmen, united with English chartists, rushed to the continent, and sought insurrectionary complicity in France, both among the demagogues in the name of liberty, and among the Catholic party in the name of Catholicism.

The German refugees from the Rhenish provinces, from Wurtemberg, from Bavaria, and the grand duchy of Baden, summoned in mass those of their countrymen who had conspired with them, in these different countries, to recruit and organize at Paris and Strasburg a body of republican emigration, ready to cross the Rhine under the apparent authority of the French name, and thus to engage the republic in a war of propagandism against constitutional Germany.

The Poles, finally, an expatriated people, who adopt the universe for their country, and carry into all the countries of their adoption the virtues and vices of this great and unfortunate people. — heroism, turbulence, and anarchy, — stirred up to delirium the people of Paris. France, doubtless, owed much to this

brave nation in ruins, but she did not owe them her policy, and a breach of the peace of the world.

The Poles exacted nothing less of government. Not being able to obtain it from government, they aspired to pluck it from the people. During the eighteen years which had just passed away, the French Chambers, rather from compulsion than conviction, had incorporated, at the opening of each session, a sterile promise for Poland. The promises of a great people are mockeries, when they are only words without deeds. France could only reach Poland by the hand of Germany, and in a general remodelling of the continent. Polish committees were formed; some touched with noble pity for these exiles of liberty, others hurrying to secure, for the benefit of their own names, the popularity attached to that of Poland.

## VII.

Strong in this support, the Polish refugees fanned the flame of war in the clubs, and themselves formed clubs more incendiary than the French. Some abused hospitality, and set fire to the asylum France had afforded them. They made use of the supplies of France to agitate and draw her into insurrection and anarchy. The secret Polish society, whose assemblies the government penetrated, resumed at Paris the language and traditions of 1793. The name of Lamartine, particularly, was here given up nightly to execration and the justice of assassins, as that of the man who offered the most inflexible resistance to the plots of foreign demagogues against the new republic. In these first weeks glimpses of the plan and crime of the 15th of May following were visible.

The other Polish refugees followed the patriotic suggestions of Prince Czartoriski, and the other refugee chiefs and generals. Their conduct was worthy of the respect they bore to their own cause and to France. They contented themselves with turning their eyes towards their country, and asking the liberty to go back and die there for their independence, as soon as a door should be opened for their entrance.

Meanwhile, Europe seemed balanced between the terror which the revolution of Paris inspired, and the hope of the possibility of peace which the manifesto of the provisional government permitted her to cherish. The American minister had been the first to recognize the French republic, by anticipating the orders of his government, and by the sole authority of a community

of institutions. Switzerland, whom the French revolution fortified by an immense weight against the almost violent pressure of Austria, showed less favorable dispositions. The minister of foreign affairs was astonished to see the French republic less courteously treated at Berne than at Berlin. He could not conceal from himself that this coldness of Switzerland, for whom France had just shown so much warmth, in the last parliamentary discussions, belonged, perhaps, to that egotism of mercantile democracies which calculate more than they feel.

It was evident that Switzerland, geographically placed between Germany and Italy, feared being agitated by this contact, and forced to expend her repose, her gold, and her blood, for the cause of other independence than her own. Lamartine, who meditated an approaching triple alliance of republican France, constitutional Italy, and federal Switzerland, to sustain, if necessary, the weight of the north, was bitterly disappointed, and deeply humiliated, for the sake of liberty, at the attitude of Switzerland. Still she performed no act of disaffection to France, and officially recognized the republic.

### VIII.

The couriers, who arrived successively from all parts of Europe, announced everywhere the acceptance of the manifesto as the basis of an incontestable policy, and as a type of the character which the new French republic wished to offer to the world. The ambassadors and the ministers of all the powers received orders from their governments to continue to reside at Paris, and to entertain official and cordial relations with the republican minister of foreign affairs. These interviews, which circumstances multiplied, gave room for frequent communications between the ambassadors and the minister of foreign affairs. These interviews in which the minister displayed openly, and without reserve, the high republican, but loyally inoffensive, intentions of the government, powerfully contributed to the maintenance of peace. In the absence of diplomatic notes, which the cessation of official reports rendered impracticable, the cabinet of foreign affairs was a permanent and preparatory congress, a direct negotiation with all the courts, to which the ambassadors transmitted the words and views exchanged between them and the minister of the republic. These verbal negotiations between men who questioned each other, and opened their hearts, on the very theatre of



events, advanced matters more than notes exchanged at a distance during years of negotiation. Paper has no heart. Language has. The heart goes for something, even in negotiating the great interests of empires.

## IX.

As soon as the minister of foreign affairs had ascertained certainly the favorable dispositions of these governments, he appointed the ambassadors and ministers of the republic. M. d'Harcourt, an old peer of France, a man of personal dignity equal to his great name, was appointed ambassador to Rome. This choice, although very liberal, had in it nothing revolutionary. It announced to the ancient French aristocracy, to religious men in France, and to the sovereign pontiff, that the republic wished to treat the spiritual chief of Catholicism with the respect which belongs to the representative of a large party of consciences. The Pope, on his part, gave his assurance, through his minister at Paris, that he had no preferences as to forms of government. His words were benedictions, and not anathemas against the republic. The French government replied with frankness to these overtures, and avowed to him, that the tendency of the republic was towards the separation, more or less at hand, of the temporal and spiritual authority, the suppression of the intervention of the state in the administration and salary of worship; but it assured him, at the same time, that the republic was eminently religious in its spirit; that this great and necessary transformation would not be effected until after having provided for the support of the ministers of worship, and for the service of churches and consciences, by organizing a free association of the faithful for their religious wants. This change of the salary from the state to the free salary from associations for their own form of worship, would only operate by way of suppressing the ministers of the different communions. Faith would gain by it in purity, individual belief in liberty, the mass of consciences in elevation and respect. This was the key-stone of the arch of the revolution; for the thorough emancipation of worship is the liberty of God in the soul.

Rome, and the superior men of the clergy, did not appear at all terrified at these avowals, and at the philosophical tendency of the new republic. They saw in them safety, dignity, and

an increase of power, but of the power adapted to the empire of the religious sentiment over the heart.

The minister of foreign affairs spoke in the same terms to the Archbishop of Paris, a man truly pious, and capable of comprehending higher destinies for his church than a union, equally tyrannical and servile, with governments.

## X.

General Aupick was nominated to the embassy of Constantinople. He had been attached for a long time to princes, but the members of the government, and the minister of the interior himself, marked him with confidence to represent the republic at one of the most important points abroad. His first fidelity was to his country. A high military capacity, and a sure and reflective spirit, fitted General Aupick for a post where the diplomacies of the world might contend to thwart each other. They only inquired respecting his capacity for the post, — they were certain of his conscientiousness.

The post of London received at first a simple chargé d'affaires, in order to avoid, by the absence of every agent of a too elevated rank, all occasion for coolness between two great governments, which have a strong desire for conciliation, to preserve the peace of the world, and that chicanery might not embitter and divide them. At a later period, Lamartine sent there M. de Tallenay, minister at Hamburg, a man of experienced diplomacy, acquainted with England, of an open, conciliating, and affable character, suited to confidential conversations with statesmen of the monarchical school, and to prepare modestly the paths for official negotiations, when the recognition of the republic should permit him to use his powers.

But the daily conversations of the English ambassador, Lord Normanby, with the minister of foreign affairs, and the unconcealed cordiality of their intercourse, made the French ambassador at London superfluous. Lord Palmerston and the English cabinet appear to have understood, with a lofty wisdom, the pacific, moderate, and civilized character of the republic, directed abroad in a spirit of respect and inviolability for the different institutions of nations. A contrary attitude of the English government would have revived the anti-British prejudice, which Lamartine, as well as Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Talleyrand, wished to quench and wear out in France. England, by accepting the fraternity offered with

dignity by the republic, deserved well of humanity. The ministry of Lord Palmerston will reap the fruit of it in history. The minister of the republic knew that no serious coalition was possible against France, upon the continent, without the concurrence and pay of England. He did not wish, at any cost, to give to the English aristocracy a pretext to force the English cabinet into a crusade against the republic. To gain time was, for him, to gain blood and strength for France. If, at a later period, causes of dissensions and wars must arise, he desired that those dissensions and those wars should find France in the right, and the republic armed. Then, this was not the case. A coalition would have surprised, and perhaps have destroyed it.

That was one of the reasons for which the minister of the republic resisted, with inflexible energy, the idea of the invasion of Belgium by the disloyal madmen who never ceased to reproach him for having anticipated them on that frontier. He repulsed all intercourse with the Belgian republicans, who had come to Paris to concert this scheme with the French republicans of the old school. He had sent to Brussels many confidential agents, with orders to observe the true state of opinion, and to allay, instead of fomenting, the excitement roused by the demagogues of that capital. The principal of these agents, a man of zeal, but recently brought to the knowledge of Europe, appeared to him to give umbrage at Brussels. The minister recalled him, without hesitation. He sent, in his place, a man of experience and moderation, M. Bellocq, an old diplomatist, skilled in the management of delicate affairs.

The inconvenience, for the French republic, of having at Brussels a king united by ties of blood to the dynasty which had fallen in France, was only a susceptibility unworthy of the republic. An invasion of Belgium, and its junction to France, at this moment, was a premature and impolitic declaration of war against England. Such a grievance, offered to England, would prostrate, in an instant, the liberal ministry at London, and throw England into a coalition. France would have been neither more nor less strong by the accession of Belgium to its cause. Respect towards that nation acquired for the republic the inactivity of England, the silence of Germany, and the respect of the world.

The minister watched, with an attentive eye, the conspiracies which were plotting at Paris to unite these two causes. His conversations with the Prince de Ligne, in which he manifested

his feelings of prudence and loyalty, and the confidence which this ambassador of the King of Belgium reposed in him contributed powerfully to prevent propagandist designs injurious to both people, to the peace of Europe, and to the republic itself.

He nominated to Holland M. de Lurde, who was familiar with the diplomacy of the north, and the double influences, which, from St. Petersburg and London, were disputing at the court of the Hague.

At Berne he appointed M. de Thiard, a man of aristocratic name, of enlarged mind, of a practised eye, and devoted, since the end of the emigration and the fall of the empire, to the liberal opposition. The veterans of this party, in the *National*, considered an embassy offered to M. de Thiard as a pledge given for their opinion. The minister of foreign affairs believed him very well suited to carry out the diplomacy, republican indeed, but opposed to the spirit of the demagogue, which he desired to have prevail. He recommended to him to observe the greatest respect towards Switzerland, whose cordiality he wished to obtain, as the preliminary of an alliance. He did not succeed so well as he could have desired. Whether the ambassador did not make this inclination of France towards Switzerland sufficiently understood, or whether Switzerland feared to compromise herself with a republic which had been only a few days in existence, it was equally a misfortune for both countries, and above all for Italy. A system of pacific alliance rested on this idea. The system has been postponed by this coldness of Switzerland, compromised by the battles of Goito and Novare. It will revive, from the nature of things, under more intelligent and enlightened governments. Switzerland will repent her hesitations and her delays.

M. Bixio was sent as chargé d'affaires to Turin. The uncertainty of the relations between this court, thus far sacerdotal and absolutist, and the French republic, did not allow the appointment of an ambassador or a minister.

M. Bixio elevated his functions by his high intelligence and patriotism. New to affairs, he showed that one is born a diplomatist. His mission was delicate, precisely because it was loyal. He must inspire, in the court of Turin, favorable dispositions towards France, without urging it even by gesture to a war against Austria, — a war towards which its impatient ambition drew it but too rashly. He must give confidence and authority to the constitutional and liberal party in Italy, with-



out caressing or exciting the republican party, — a party premature and ruinous for the emancipation of Italy.

The unforeseen chances and contradictory fortunes of Piedmont and Lombardy put to difficult tests the tact of this young diplomatist. He did not commit a single fault, in a situation where the most consummate negotiators might have been misled. France had not a drop of blood to answer for, on account of his diplomacy in Piedmont and in Lombardy. Italy did not receive a counsel with which she could legitimately reproach France. M. Bixio, an Italian by extraction, a Frenchman in heart, carried in his bearing the feelings of both his countries. The minister was about to elevate him to the highest functions, when the National Assembly was opened. M. Bixio desired to enter it. He devoted himself, in the days of June, like a soldier of the vanguard. He shed his blood in streams for the republic. Appointed a minister, after the election of the president, he retired after a few days, from some susceptibility of honor, which has been imperfectly explained. His fitness for negotiations has been displayed. He should be recalled to it.

M. de Boissy was named minister at Florence. An old diplomatist, he was familiar with Tuscany. His wife, born at Ravenna, was celebrated for her beauty, enthusiasm, and patriotism. Her name alone negotiated with the high liberalism of central Italy. She was united in literary friendship with all the illustrious patriots of the Roman States, of Pisa, Venice and Florence. M. de Boissy, a man of the greatest boldness, had resolutely adopted the republic. He showed himself at Paris as courageous in person to defend it against the demagogues, as he was suited, by his splendor of living and the aristocracy of his name, to serve it abroad. He did not set out for his post, more anxious to enter the National Assembly, and again to find a tribune, than to figure in a court. He was replaced near the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by M. Benoît Champy, allied to M. de Lamennais, and patronized by that illustrious and popular name. This choice was fortunate. The man was found worthy of the enlightened and liberal prince, who made of Tuscany a republic, or rather a family, by the free and gentle administration of his government. M. Benoît Champy caused the French republic to be loved by this very prince, whom the reaction would some days after expel from his states. His counsels more energetically followed, would have preserved Tuscany from this grief and this reaction against the centre of Italy.

## XI.

Madrid was one of the courts, where it was very difficult to adapt an envoy of France to the situation of Spain. General Narvaez, a man very superior to the soldier-like renown which they have ascribed to him abroad, was, for Spain, a sort of military Richelieu, all-powerful in the second rank. Under a court divided and plunged in pleasures, Narvaez had studied, with a dark and silent anxiety, from the first moment, the character of the French revolution. Judging France by Spain, he believed that the civil war would choose chiefs from among the princes and generals of the house of Orleans. In anticipation of these events, in which Spain would have a part to play, in consequence of her family connections with the dynasty of July, he had explained himself with a vexing ambiguity, and had concentrated troops in the direction of the Pyrenees. The manifesto of the provisional government, and the explanations of its minister with the *chargé d'affaires* of Spain at Paris, had changed the dispositions of Narvaez. The intrigues of France and England at Madrid agitated Spain, and constantly disquieted the general as to the duration of his authority. Lamartine, by withdrawing the hand of France from these intrigues, and by leaving Spain to her internal independence, tranquillized the Spanish government. He left to Narvaez only the struggle with England. The result of such a policy was what it should be; France no longer gave cause for umbrage, and was the more courted, as she was less encroaching.

Yet, to carry out this system, there should not be appointed at Madrid a too zealous republican, who would cause discontent with the constitution, and excite the fermentations of the powerless republicanism in Catalonia; nor a military name,—it would revive the reminiscences of the war of independence; nor a diplomatist of July,—too lukewarm for the republic, he might allow himself to be softened by a too fresh attachment to the house of Orleans, and to shut his eyes upon the attempts at the restoration of that dynasty in France, plotting, perhaps, at that palace of Madrid or Seville which the Duke of Montpensier was about to occupy. The minister of foreign affairs had met, in M. de Lesseps, consul-general of France at Barcelona, a man skilled in the Spanish character, agreeable to Narvaez, and devoted to his own instructions. He nominated him to Madrid. The mutual distrusts were dissipated. Repugnances fell before the well understood interests of the two

people. Never had France and Spain more completely returned to their nature, which draws them together, when a false policy does not separate them. General Narvaez well understood the spirit of France. The attraction of the two people for each other could be freely developed. The provisional government spared the country the assembling of the army of the Pyrenees, better guarded by the security of our relations, and by reciprocal loyalty, than by force.

## XII.

The state of Italy was not yet discovered. The minister of the republic foresaw it. The position of France which would result from it would not allow her to establish intimate negotiations with Austria.

M. de Metternich yet reigned at Vienna, without suspecting the volcano which he had under his feet. This great minister had not grown old in mind, but he had suffered his character to be softened by the long prosperity of his empire. He believed in the immortality of the Germanic aristocracy, and trusted in his own genius. Great, serene, happy, affable, for several years he had left everything to fortune. This long-continued good fortune was a snare. Lamartine had an intuitive knowledge of it. He knew not what wind of decline had blown, for several years, from the cabinet of Vienna, Hungary, Galicia, Poland, Bohemia, Lombardy, and Venice,—all these badly-cemented portions of the empire, with the empire itself, seemed to tend to dissolution. France, which did not wish to constrain anything on this side, was willing to accept of everything from fortune.

The first collisions of the French republic with the continent would commence by Italy or Switzerland. Thus the war of principle existed, though it was not declared, between Vienna and Paris; or, rather, it was neither war nor peace, but a mixed attitude, which partook of both these orders of things. The government did not seek, by false pretences, to mask this situation. It neither wished to deceive M. de Metternich, by subterfuges, without good faith, nor to be deceived itself. It avowed frankly this disposition of the republic, to M. d'Apponi, the Austrian ambassador at Paris. Loyal and chivalrous, as a man of the north, he was contented that France should leave at Vienna a chargé d'affaires loved by old Germany, and by the court, to listen and observe, without acting.

for to act would have been to deceive. The diplomacy of the republic did not wish to deceive any one, not even its natural enemy, Austria.

A less fortunate choice was made at Naples, on the faith of the party of the *National*, whose abilities the republic desired to employ, and whose ambition it was willing to gratify. The secretary of legation whom it nominated near that court, and to whom it gave instructions conformable to its design for a confederation of Italy, which design did not exclude thrones, broke entirely from the line of action which the minister of the republic had marked for him. Apparently taking his directions either from the party of the radical propaganda at Paris or from the extreme parties at Naples, he held the language and attitude of those envoys of the Convention whose mission was to outrage kings, and disseminate fanaticism among the people. Admiral Baudin, who commanded the fleet at Naples, better understood the dignity of the republic. He repressed, as much as was in his power, these excesses of zeal. The chargé d'affaires was recalled. They sent, in his place, a man of moderation and wisdom, M. de Bois-le-Comte. He had been a fellow-laborer with M. Buchez, in the vast historical work on our first revolution; he had borne the weight of details, and studied the true sense of the new republican diplomacy, in the cabinet of the minister, since the twenty-fourth of February. He was sent afterwards to Turin.

Lamartine desired that the republic should communicate with St. Petersburg. He was convinced that there was no other incompatibility between the two powers, save the state of Poland. It was on that point alone that the two people could come in collision, not from territorial interest, but from a moral antipathy. In Europe, the first execution of the treaties of Vienna, and the proper and free institutions restored by the Emperor of Russia to the kingdom of Poland, could permit both policies to be reconciled with honor and security for all. There was need of time and reflection. Lamartine should not venture his opinions, and the dignity of the republic, by envoys, who would meet, perhaps, with a cold reception at St. Petersburg. He left there a simple secretary of the embassy, nominated by the minister of the monarchy, without any political mission. He had, in the minister of the emperor at Paris, a kind and able interpreter, favoring the views of the emperor, and those of France. The reserved and unfrequent intercourse never had an accent of bitterness. Collisions do not



occur so far apart, unless wished for on account of antipathy or of system. The emperor was too just, the republic too wise, not to look upon each other with composure.

But the post to which the minister ascribed, at this moment, the most importance, was Berlin; the central support of the equilibrium of the continent was still, as in 1791, in that cabinet. Russia, England, and Germany, on the north, met there and disputed the decisive favor of a powerful military monarchy, and of a public spirit preponderating in the cabinet of a philosophical king, who was adventurous, flexible, making a commencement in reform, bold in new emergencies, capable of comprehending all, risking all, and daring all. The knot of European peace and war, of the emancipation and reconstruction of Germany, of the peaceful and partial regeneration of Poland, was to be unravelled at Berlin. The first word which the King of Prussia should speak respecting the French republic would be surely the word of the whole continent. None would dare to say war, when he should say peace. One may conceive with what interest Lamartine, who desired peace, was listening for what word should be placed upon the lips of the King of Prussia, by the genius of humanity, and the favorable predispositions to the revolution at Paris.

### XIII.

He sought and immediately found the man fitted to personify, at first confidentially, afterwards officially, at Berlin, the philosophical tendency, Germanic science, and the far-sighted diplomacy of the new French revolution, represented at that court by a mind almost universal.

This man, little known up to this time beyond the aristocratic, literary, and learned world, was named M. de Circourt. He had served, under the restoration, in diplomacy. The revolution of July had thrown him back into isolation, and into the opposition, nearer to legitimacy than to democracy. He had profited by these years to deliver himself to studies which would have absorbed many lives of common men, but which were only the recreations of his. Languages, races, geography, history, philosophy, voyages, constitutions, religions of all people, from the infancy of the world up to our days, from Thibet to the Alps,—he had imbued himself with all, and reflected upon and remembered all. One could interrogate him upon all the facts and ideas of which the world is composed, without his having need

to reply by consulting other books than his memory ; with the breadth, extent, and immense depth of an understanding to which none ever found either sounding or limits ; a living chart of human knowledge ; a man who was all head, and whose head was equal to all truths ; impartial, moreover, indifferent between systems, like a being who should be purely an intelligence, and belong to human nature only by the look and by curiosity.

M. de Circourt had espoused a young Russian female, of aristocratic race, and of European spirit. He had a hold by her upon whatever was eminent in the literature, or in the courts, of Germany and of the north. He had himself resided at Berlin, where he had formed connections with statesmen. The King of Prussia, a lettered and liberal sovereign, had honored him with a certain intimacy at his court. M. de Circourt, without being a republican at heart, was enough struck by the vast horizon which a French republic, the offspring of the progressive and pacific genius of modern France, might open to the human mind, to salute and to serve it. He comprehended, like Lamartine, that liberty had need of peace, and that peace was at Berlin and at London.

Lamartine gave him, in writing, his confidential instructions for the ear of the King of Prussia and his ministers. These instructions were no more at bottom than that philosophy of peace common to all souls enlightened by a divine ray ; philosophy converted into politics by the accordance of ideas between the heart of a king and the mind of a minister of a great new-born democracy. M. de Circourt was capable of commenting upon the instructions, and adapting them to the genius of a court, and to the contingencies of Germany. The alliance, at least tacit, between Germany and France ; the inviolability of territory ; the tendency to a moral unity in Germany, which would decentralize the smaller states from the exclusive influence of Austria ; the powerful arbitration of Prussia between German independence and the pressure of Russia ; the restitution of a moral part of constitutional nationality to dismembered but still living Poland, formed the texts, scarcely indicated, of this document.

M. de Circourt took his departure. He kept up with the minister of foreign affairs an intimate correspondence, which would form a volume on the state of the north. He did not make a single error of foresight. He inclined the heart and mind of the King of Prussia to all the ideas of reconciliation

and equilibrium which were for the true interests of the two states. When the revolution of Berlin broke out, the French republic no longer needed a revolution at Berlin, in order to see there the triumph of the cause of peace and humanity, which M. de Circourt had gone there to defend. Lamartine and his envoy in Prussia lamented more than they rejoiced in a revolution, which, in urging the king beyond his thoughts, would, perhaps, cause him subsequently to fall back as far as into the arms of Russia.

## BOOK XII

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### I.

WHILE these negotiations and these informations, secret but loyal, were preparing, and enlightening abroad the European ground on which the republic wished to establish itself, without overturning nationalities; while its diplomacy held the world in suspense, and thus gave the nation time to organize and arm defensively; Paris continued to live on enthusiasm, and to breathe the almost unanimous hopes of its revolution. The republic had no enemies, — scarcely any disbelievers: those who had trembled in the first moment at this name were astonished by its magnanimity, its calm, its harmony. The first programmes of the government, the voluntary respect of the people for authority sprung from chance, the patience of the workmen, the charity of the rich, the serenity of all, shed a light without shadow over the early weeks of the republic. The unfortunate were awaiting, the fortunate enjoyed, their security; opinions the most opposite became reconciled on this wide basis of liberty, a common and safe asylum open to all. The parties hurled from power, and still surprised at their fall, were then grateful to the government for the magnanimity with which it interdicted all recriminations, all proscriptions, and invited them to the free and complete exercise of their political rights.

The departments organized peacefully in patriotic assemblies, in order to seek, in good faith and mutual agreement, not partisans, but the best citizens in all the professions, fitted to unite and consolidate the parties of the republic in the National Assembly. If ever unbelievers in liberty need to be convinced of the omnipotence of a generous sentiment, and of an amnesty of opinions upon a people, their eyes must be directed to the picture of these two months of concord, and of continuous festivals of the heart. Excepting a few incendiary declamations attempted here and there in certain shameful clubs, and



which the government left to evaporate in the general indifference, in public contempt, there was neither an insult from citizen to citizen, nor a conflict of opinion, nor a violent repression to be exercised, throughout the whole territory. Thirty-six millions of excitable spirits passed with order, at the voice of a few men, from one form of government to another. The scaffold was abolished, the prisons opened only to receive malefactors; the laws were obeyed, even in respect to taxes, by a suffering people. The spirit of conquest was repudiated; war, that natural attraction of the French genius, was restrained by the single hand of practical philosophy. There was seen, there was felt, the inspiration of God in a people.

## II.

This state of things would have continued indefinitely, if this inspiration of reason, of truth, and of practical fraternity, had not been opposed, within the bosom of the government itself, by other less fortunate inspirations, — posthumous inspirations of a time which had and ought to have no analogy with the present; it was a deplorable parody of the first republic, — the language of denunciation, of exclusion, of rudeness, and of threats, to a people which was surprised at being scolded and threatened at the moment when it was throwing itself voluntarily, and with a unanimous current, into a republic of concord and good will. The first effect of this error of a part of the government was revealed on the 15th of March, in full serenity of events.

The ministry of the interior was under the almost absolute control of M. Ledru Rollin; this ministry touched upon everything with its immense jurisdiction. It had acquired still more importance from the power of the name, talent, and democratic popularity of the man on whom this ministry had devolved. To inspire the public mind, to organize the elections, was one of its prerogatives. It is not known by what hand was drafted the first circular addressed by the minister of the interior to the authorities of the republic in the departments; what was done in the other ministries was as foreign to the minister of foreign affairs as the acts of his own ministry were to his colleagues. United in the grand tendencies of order and of republicanism, they could diverge in details; each one followed his own mind, and answered only to his conscience and to the safety of the country.

The republican moderation in which the ministry moved was not the moderation of Lamartine, nor that of the majority of the government. They often conflicted, but without suspicion; the frank energy of difference in opinion excluded all idea of perfidy.

This opposition between the two kinds of republicanism which encountered, which clashed, and which oftener modified and became reconciled, in the council, had transpired beyond the deliberations of government. The greater part of the country rallied around the men of moderation and of liberty. The minority, more ardent and more bitter, rallied around the minister of the interior and his partisans. Men of this party, it is said, besieged him with republican counsel and impatience. They sought to draw him from the paths of concert and concord, when he wished, like all his colleagues, to confine things and minds. These extreme counsellors held the pen in his offices, and expressed in equivocal and ill-sounding phrase their own spirit, instead of the spirit of the government. There was felt the counter-action of two minds opposed to power; the one pacifying, the other agitating, the passions.

### III.

The first important circular of the minister of the interior, relating to the elections, appeared on the 12th of March.

This circular was a tocsin of alarm for the country, suddenly roused from the dream of concord and peace which the government desired to prolong. The piece, at the end of many useful counsels, contained violent expressions, destined to provoke equal violence in return, on the part of the threatened opinions.

"Your powers are unlimited," said the minister to his agents. This was to recall the dictatorial mandates of the commissaries of the Convention. Every reminiscence of this nature sent a shudder through the country. "We wish all men of the eve, and none of the next day, in the National Assembly." This was to proscribe public opinion itself from its own sovereignty. It was the political ostracism of almost the entire nation; for if the number of rational republicans was immense, the number of factious republicans was very small. It was, in a word, an 18th Fructidor of words against France. The impression was much more sinister than the design.

This circular, an important act of government to promulgate

its spirit to the nation, had neither been submitted to the government nor deliberated on by it. It was the work and abuse of power of the invaders of the bureaux of the ministry of the interior. The multiplicity of business, and the whirl of events, which did not leave a moment's leisure, night or day, to the members of the government, who were continually engaged at the Hôtel de Ville, in the public square, in dialogue with the columns of the people, and deputations from the departments, or foreign nations, had prevented the knowledge of this circular from reaching Lamartine. He only learned its existence by the rumor of trouble and irritation which it caused in Paris. He felt, at once, that if this act were not disavowed by the government, the republic would change hands in changing doctrines; that it would become a tyranny of the minority, instead of being the common land of liberty; and to sustain this insolent tyranny of a minority, there was only terror within, war without, trouble, exactions, decimations, and revolutionary ill usage everywhere. He, as well as his colleagues of the majority, were resolved to die a thousand times, rather than to associate their responsibility before God, history, and themselves, with so execrable a government.

He knew, moreover, as a politician, that such a government would before three months be a civil war, and that civil war was the death of the republic.

He consequently demanded a secret and full government council at the Hôtel de Ville, for the next day, 16th of March. at noon, resolved to submit to his colleagues the question of the two principles of government which seem at last to place themselves in opposition, decided sooner to dismember the government itself, if necessary, at all hazards, than to deny and denaturalize himself by remaining in it.

He did not conceal any of the consequences of this dismemberment at such a time. He knew that the opinion of the healthy portion of the people, of the National Guard, and bourgeoisie of Paris, adhered to him strongly, from instinct; that the socialist, moving, active, terrorist, and armed ultra-revolutionary party of the capital, clung madly to the leaders of the opposite party, and that his retirement from government would be the signal of a combat, in which all the chances would be against it; for if he had public opinion, he had no arms. No matter; it was one of those hours in which the politician does not reckon his safety, but his honor.

Interrogated on the evening before the 17th, at the Hôtel de

Ville, by a deputation of a club of the National Guard, of which M. de Lépine, a colonel of the Banlieue, and an influential citizen, was the organ, Lamartine boldly profited by this occasion to explain to Paris the revolt of his heart against the circulars, and the struggle he projected for the next day.

"Citizens," replied he to the deputation which had interrogated him on the intentions of the government, "it does not belong to me, in a question so general and grave, to take the initiative on the opinions of all my colleagues in a body. Still, I may say to you, that they will be deeply touched with, and deeply grateful for, the step you have just taken, and the words you have just pronounced.

"The government has authorized no person to speak in its name to the nation, and especially, to speak a language superior to the laws." (*Bravo! bravo!*) "It has given no one this right. For at the moment of issuing like an acclamation from the people, to fill for a moment the painful place it occupies, it had no wish to take this right upon itself.

"It did not wish this, it has not done it, it will never do it. Trust in the names of the men who compose it." (*Bravo!*)

"Be certain that, before many days, the provisional government itself will take up the word, and that whatever there is in the terms, and certainly not in the designs of this document, capable of wounding and disturbing the liberty and conscience of the country, will be explained, commented on, and settled by the voice of the entire government." (*Acclamations. Cries of Vive Lamartine! Vive Lamartine!*)

"Say, long live the entire government!" replied Lamartine. "For this idea is not mine alone, it is that of the entire government, and the ministry itself."

A member of the deputation cried: "We accept it as such!"

M. Lamartine resumed: "Citizens, of all the dogmas which have survived the great falls of thrones and empires which we have witnessed during half a century, there is but one dogma imperishable in our eyes, that of national sovereignty." (*Bravo! bravo!*) "It is that of the national sovereignty which we will never suffer ourselves to assail, and never permit any to tamper with, either in our name or yours.

"The provisional government will rejoice, do not doubt it, that you have come like a presentiment of truly republican principle, that is to say, freely, to elicit an explanation from it as to the conduct it will hold in the elections from which the



republican government of France must issue. The government will not and ought not to influence the elections, either directly or indirectly. Yes, as a government armed with a certain portion of public power, we should blush at the reproaches which have been addressed to preceding governments, if, instead of the corruption which, by its scandal, caused the very revolution from which the republic issued, we should now employ another corruption, the worst of all corruptions, the corruption of fear, and the moral oppression of consciences." (*Bravo! bravo!*)

"No, it is from a free and pure source that the republic must and will issue. Calm yourselves, citizens, and repeat these words to your fellow-citizens without." (*Many voices: Yes! yes! we will repeat them with pleasure.*)

Lamartine went on: "I desire, we all desire, that they may ring through the public sentiment of Paris. We desire that they may satisfy it as to the ill-defined meaning given to a few words that had neither significance nor bearing, by alarm at expressions which often falsify words. Understand it well, and explain it clearly to those who are waiting for you. The entire government of the republic feels the necessity of twice satisfying the public conscience, once by this interview we hold with each other, and again by a proclamation presently issued to all France." (*Prolonged acclamations.*)

"You wish, like ourselves, that the republic and liberty should be one word." (*Yes! yes!*) "Otherwise the republic would be a falsehood; and we would have it a truth." (*Bravo!*) "We would have a republic which shall make itself loved and respected by all, which should be terrible to none but the enemies of the country and its institutions." (*Bravo! bravo!*) "We would found a republic to be the model of moderate governments, and not a copy of the faults and misfortunes of another period. We adopt its glory, we repudiate its anarchy and wrong. Aid us to establish and defend it. Vote according to your consciences, and if, as I doubt not, they are the consciences of good citizens, the republic will be established by your votes, as it is now established by the arms of the people of Paris." (*Unanimous bravos.*)

The deputation retired with reiterated cries of "*Vive Lamartine! Vive le gouvernement provisoire! Vive la République!*"

## IV.

These words, received with frenzied joy by the deputation and the immense auditory of other deputations that Lamartine addressed until night in the great hall of the Hôtel de Ville, spread like the news of a satisfactory *coup d'état*, with the rapidity of thought itself, from quarter to quarter. They gave courage to the alarmed citizens. They informed the violent party that the government would not be its accomplice, and that the next morning they would have to defend or deny themselves.

Lamartine employed a part of the night in preparing with his own hand a government proclamation, which contained the true principles of the free, representative, moderate and national republic, a proclamation which, in words and terms, was the most literal disavowal and denial of the circular of the minister of the interior. Ready for anything, even for the last extremity, carrying arms to defend himself against insurrection, he repaired alone and on foot, at the hour indicated, to the Hôtel de Ville.

All the members of the government had already met there. He was astonished, on reaching the place de Grève, to find it occupied by twenty or thirty thousand men, the picked companies of the National Guard. He was recognized, and saluted by energetic acclamations. These cries of "*Vive Lamartine!*" accompanied him even into the halls, and were renewed with increased frenzy when he was seen, or thought to be seen, at the windows of the reception-room.

He asked the motive of this spontaneous muster of so great a mass of the National Guard. He learned that they were companies of grenadiers, wearing their fur caps, who came to protest against a decree of the government by which this privilege of uniform was taken from them; a decree which broke their too exclusive squares to allow the enrolment of all citizens, without privileges or distinction of head-gear. He was afflicted by this puerility at so serious a time. He addressed them, and made them consent to the abolition of a sign which was only a military vanity, when the question was of confounding all vanities in patriotism.

During the addresses to the grenadiers, General Courtais, their commandant, hastened on horseback, with his staff, to the square, dashed into the midst of the tumultuous ranks, received insults, braved threats, and incurred danger. The people, excited by this assemblage, crowded to the openings of the quay and the streets, shouting, "*Aristocracy!*" "*Privilege!*" The

motionless and compact square still remained covered with unarmed legions, that seemed to be expecting an event.

## V.

The secret session of the government was opened under these auspices. The two camps were present within and without: without, accidentally; within, by the will of Lamartine. The faces of those present were dark, contracted, and resolved, as on the eve of a battle.

Lamartine laid upon the table the proclamation he had written in the night, and which he had communicated to no one.

"Gentlemen," said he, "up to this time we have been united in one sheaf of opinions and feelings, by the very fire of the great revolutionary movements into which we have thrown ourselves, to extinguish and change it into a strong, regular, and unanimous republican government. Now we can no longer deceive ourselves; the acts and words of the minister of the interior, in contradiction to the unanimous sense we wished to impress on our dictatorship, seem to indicate clearly two things; the first, that this minister assumes, by individual acts, to involve the entire government, who ought to consider in common what he says and what he has done on so important a subject; the second, that this minister intends to rule in a spirit which I do not believe to be the spirit of the republic, the sense of the majority of the government, and which, at any rate, does not accord with my own views. We must, therefore, within this very hour, here, in the present session, know whether there are in fact two minds in this government. And if there are two in fact, one or the other must carry the day, so that that which shall be vanquished may retire, and yield the government to that which is victorious. For one cannot accept, in his conscience, the responsibility of the other; and the republic, in its problematical, its most dangerous and agitated period, cannot be governed by two contradictory policies. Let us know, once for all, if there are two irreconcilable policies among us, and to which of the two you will yield your adhesion. Let us know it, and make it known to the country, for the policy which has been impudently displayed in the circular of the minister of the interior rouses up the public feeling. It must be either rectified or commented on by common concert, or we must separate without the possibility of reconciliation. Here is the proclamation which I propose to the government as a text for

opinions which I believe to be those of the country, and those of the government, as they are my own. I am going to read it to the council, and the deliberation which will ensue on this text will cut short the question of the two policies which must govern our agents, and satisfy or dismember the nation." He then read the following proclamation:—

"CITIZENS:

"In all the great acts of the life of a people, it is the duty of government to make its opinion manifest to the nation.

"You are about to accomplish the greatest act in the life of a people: to elect representatives of the country; to produce, from your consciences and your suffrages, not only a government, but a social power, a complete constitution. You are about to organize the republic!

"We have only proclaimed it. Raised by acclamation to power, during the popular interregnum, we wished and wish no other dictatorship but that of absolute necessity. If we had refused the post of peril, we should have been cowards; if we remain there an hour longer than necessity compels us, we shall be usurpers.

"You alone are strong.

"We are reckoning the days. We are in haste to restore the republic to the nation.

"The provisional electoral law we have passed is the broadest under which any nation of the earth has ever convoked the people to the exercise of the highest right of man, his own sovereignty.

"Election belongs to all, without exception.

"From the date of this law there are no more proletaries in France.

"Every Frenchman, of the age of manhood, is a political citizen; every citizen is an elector; every elector is a sovereign. The right is equal and absolute for all. There is no one citizen who can say to another, 'You are more of a sovereign than I.' Contemplate your power, prepare to execute it, and be worthy of entering on the possession of your kingdom.

"The reign of the people is called the republic.

"If you ask what republic we mean by these words, and what principles, what virtue, we wish in the republicans you are going to elect, we reply: 'Look at the people of Paris and France, since the proclamation of the republic!'

"The people have fought with heroism.



"The people have triumphed with humanity.

"The people have repressed anarchy from the first hour.

"The people have themselves broken the arms of their just anger, directly after the conflict. They have burned the scaffold. They have proclaimed the abolition of the death penalty upon their enemies.

"They have respected individual liberty, by not proscribing any one; they have respected conscience in matters of religion, which they would have free, but without inequality or privilege.

"They have respected property. They have carried probity to the extent of that sublime disinterestedness which touches even history.

"They have made their choice of rulers among the most honest and firm men who have come under their cognizance. They have not uttered one cry of hatred or envy against property, nor one cry of vengeance against persons. In a word the name of the people became the name of courage, clemency and virtue.

"We have but one instruction to give you: take your inspiration from the people; imitate them, think, feel, vote and act like them!

"The provisional government itself will not imitate the governments who usurped the sovereignty of the people, corrupted the electors, and purchased the conscience of the people at the cost of morality.

"For what purpose is it to supersede these governments, if we imitate them? Why have we created and worshipped the republic, if we are to enter on the first day into the paths of abolished royalty? The government considers it its duty to shed upon the electoral operations that light which illumines the consciences of men without oppressing them. It confines itself to neutralizing the hostile influence of the old administration, which perverted and changed the elections.

"The provisional government would have the public conscience rule. It does not trouble itself with old parties. Old parties have grown a century old in three days. The republic will convert them, if they are true and just to them. Necessity is a great master. The republic, mark it well, has the happiness to be a government of necessity. We possess reflection. You cannot go back to the impossibilities of royalty. You would not descend to unknown anarchy. You will be republican from reason. Only give safety, liberty and

respect, to all men. Insure to others the independence of suffrage you desire for yourselves. Do not regard what name those you believe your enemies inscribe on their bulletin, but be sure, beforehand, that they write the only name which can save them, that is to say, that of a capable and honest republican.

"Safety, liberty, and respect to the consciences of all citizen-electors, — this is the meaning of a republican government; this is its duty, and this is yours. There is the safety of the people! Confide in the good sense of the country; it will have confidence in you. Give it liberty, and it will repay you by the republic.

"Citizens, at this moment France, in the midst of some financial difficulties bequeathed by royalty, but under providential auspices, is attempting the greatest work of modern times, the foundation of a completely popular government, the organization of democracy, the republic of all rights, of all interests, of all intelligence, and all the virtues!

"The circumstances are propitious. Peace is possible. The new idea may take its place in Europe, without any other disturbance than that of the prejudices entertained against it. There is no anger in the heart of a people. If fugitive royalty has not taken with it all the enemies of the republic, it has left them powerless; and though they may be invested with all the rights which the republic guarantees to minorities, yet their interest and their prudence assure us that they will not voluntarily trouble the peaceful establishment of a popular constitution.

"In three days this work, which was thought to be postponed to the distance of time, has been accomplished, without the shedding of a single drop of blood in France, without any other cry but that of admiration ringing through our departments and on our frontiers. Let us not lose this single opportunity of our history. Let us not relinquish the great strength of the new idea, the security with which it inspires our citizens, the astonishment with which it fills the world.

"Yet a few days of magnanimity, devotion, and patience, and the National Assembly will receive the new-born republic from our hands. From that day all will be safe. When the nation, by the hands of its representatives, shall have seized on the republic, the republic will be strong and great as the nation, sacred as the idea of the people, imperishable as the country!"

## VI.

The discussion on the two principles which ought to direct the movement of the government opened frankly, energetically, and boldly. The addresses reached the depths of thought, the replies the bottom of hearts. Reasons and passions were mingled in the words of the orators of opposite parties. The great majority, Marrast, Marie, Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, Arago, Crémieux, and Dupont de l'Eure, expended their souls in the deliberation. The minority rectified rather than sustained the terms of the circulars. Advices assimilated, sentiments were interwoven, and the necessity of a disavowal prevailed by an overwhelming vote. The liberal and magnanimous interpretation given to the spirit of the government by the project of proclamation was admitted by all. Lamartine modified some words of his paper, in obedience to the suggestions of Louis Blanc. The minority itself signed the programme of the majority. It was sent to the national printing-house, posted up in Paris, and France was flooded with it. It satisfied men's minds; but still it seemed what it was, the ill-effaced index of an internal struggle in the very conscience of the government.

During the two hours consumed by this interior scene at the council-table, the clamors of the National Guard, who covered the square, ascended to the windows, and seemed to impart strength to the mind of the majority. This pressure was barely apparent. Lamartine and his friends deplored this untimely and accidental manifestation. It might give room for contrary manifestations, and thus excite classes against classes, the people against the people. Already, in fact, the rumor of this more puerile than aristocratic meeting had spread through the faubourgs. Classes of working-men hastened up, invaded the ranks of the unarmed National Guards, reproached them with their ridiculous jealousy on the privilege of uniform, and followed them with hisses and insults, as their several detachments left the square.

Lamartine and Crémieux, who had gone out together from a masked door, in the rear of the Hôtel, were recognized upon the quay, and surrounded and followed by a column of people, who accompanied them as far as the Louvre, with enthusiasm and acclamations. They were compelled to take refuge in a house, whose door they closed, to avoid an involuntary triumph which would have alarmed Paris.

## VII.

The next morning joy seized on all hearts at reading the proclamation to the French people, which so energetically established the true and liberal sense of the republic. This victory of the moderate party seemed to be the victory of all good citizens. The more unquiet departments received it with yet more applause. They trembled at seeing proconsuls, armed with unlimited power, revive, in peaceful France, the arbitrary and irritated proconsulates of the Convention.

But the Conventional and violent party, which began to agitate and combine in certain clubs, felt itself vanquished, and thought itself powerful enough to regain the victory by the aid of subterfuge.

They pretended to think, and perhaps thought, that the entirely accidental manifestation of the National Guards, during the deliberation of the preceding evening, had been contrived by Lamartine and his friends, to intimidate the minority of government. Perhaps the minority itself believed this. However it might be, a dull rumor spread artificially through Paris. The people were induced to imagine that the National Guard had surrounded and threatened the government, and that they meditated a *coup d'état* of the aristocratic bourgeoisie against its most popular members. Numerous agents, from the prefecture of police and the armed men encamped in its courts, were employed to spread this panic among the people. To the working-men and clubs a general rendezvous was assigned at the Champs Elysées, to muster before their pretended enemies, and to defile in innumerable force before the Hôtel de Ville, and there take an oath to defend the government.

Caussidière, with good intentions at bottom, seemed himself to be one of the principal promoters of this prodigious gathering of the people, among whom he also established a discipline and order which at once struck the capital with terror and astonishment. The people were really attracted *en masse* by a good motive,—that of displaying attachment and lending strength to the government. There was not a germ of sedition in the greatest pacific sedition that a capital ever witnessed. At the utmost the leaders only attempted secretly, by cries of preference, to indemnify the minority of the government for the triumph of Lamartine.



## VIII.

But while the people thus came down in mass, from their faubourgs and workshops, to a demonstration they believed loyal and civic, a few men, partisan leaders, movers of clubs, instruments of fanaticism and agents of sedition, meditated using this army of the people, recruited by an honest sentiment, to make it, at their will, the instrument of perverse or ambitious designs. Happily these men were in a minority of the clubs even, but they made up for their small number by their desperate audacity.

The bureaux of the clubs, informed of the meeting which was to take place the next day, had agreed to place themselves at the head of the columns, under pretence of speaking in the name of the people themselves. Some of these club leaders, discontented with their isolation and impotence, had plotted with their principal confidants to do violence to the government, to winnow it of some members, and principally Lamartine; to come in themselves, or put in some of their friends, in the place of the removed members, and thus to bend its spirit to the views of their factions or the interest of their ambitions. Enterprising and imperious men, armed, if not with concealed weapons, at least by the number and chances of an assemblage they managed, might, in the name of the crowd which surrounded them, summon the government to obey them and retire. In case of resistance, they could seize upon the government in the tumult.

There were such men, and everything indicated that they had this plan in their minds. Other leaders of important clubs, more particularly attached to the minister of the interior, to Louis Blanc, and even well disposed to Lamartine, — such as Barbès, Sobrier, Suau, and others, — in fine, exclusively devoted to the interests of their party and the predominance of their ideas, such as Cabet and Raspail, surrounded these men of faction, watched them, and ruled them by their superiority of credit, and numbers, and might neutralize extreme designs. Blanqui and his friends, Lacambre and Flotte, ought to march there in the front ranks. It was a review of the people, of ideas, chimeras, good, evil, misery, patriotism, virtues, vices and factions.

## IX.

The majority of the government, informed in the morning of the immense assemblage which was forming in the Champs

Elysées, and which came down in perpetual currents from all the laboring quarters of the capital and precincts, did not disguise any of the danger to which such a mass of men, excited and floating under an unknown spirit, might subject the revolution and itself. The minister of war, M. Arago, had no armed force to oppose to this deluge of people. The National Guard, rendered unpopular by its demand of the morning, would only have provoked anger. It was necessary to trust to the chances of the day, and only to found a support against the possible error of the people in the inspirations of the people themselves.

All the members of the government devoted to this end their personal influence and that of their friends. Marie could act powerfully on the national workshops. Lamartine sent more than a thousand voluntary and well-disposed agents among the groups of people, to breathe peace, and oppose evil suggestions. Louis Blanc ought to have acted in a similar way upon the delegates of the workmen of the Luxembourg. He fostered errors, but never seditions.

At noon the members of the government were at the Hôtel de Ville, with the exception of the minister of the interior and the minister of war, who came in company a few minutes later. A dull rumor rose from the quays and streets. The population of Paris had poured out entire into the Champs Elysées, to arrange or to form a procession of popular manifestation. The rest of the city was empty, as if to make room for the people. The uneasy or terrified citizens were on their doorsteps, at the windows, or on the roofs, awaiting what would happen.

The respiration of the city seemed to be stopped. Every minute the members of the government went upon the balconies of the Hôtel de Ville, to see whether they could discern the head of the column; at length it appeared. It consisted of five or six hundred picked men of all the clubs of Paris, marching in silence and order behind their orators and tribunes. These men were ranged in files, thirty or forty abreast. They advanced with the slow pace of a religious procession; some joined hand in hand, others linked together by long red or tricolored ribbons, which swept like a vast girdle round each principal group. Before each club floated a flag. Two or three men and a woman were crowned with red caps, the symbols of our Saturnalia of Terror. This hideous sign seemed to excite indignation and disgust in the crowd. The workmen hissed it or pulled it from the brows of the insane beings who had

hoisted it. The working people themselves seemed to feel that the republic of 1848 was a more serious and humane act, dishonored by this reminiscence of 1793.

Behind this procession of clubs marched in order, by tens, in the same dense and compact column of people, workmen of all trades, decently dressed, grave, modest, inoffensive, silent, rigidly refraining from all shouts, gestures, and even expressions of countenance, of a nature to threaten or disturb other citizens; like men who wished to perform a calm and holy act of patriotism, and who watch over each other, to gratify the eyes of their country.

This column, or rather this army, inundated the entire square of the Hôtel de Ville, and extended from the place de Grève as far as the extremity of the Champs Elysées. It was estimated at a hundred or a hundred and forty thousand men. When the square overflowed, the reflux of this crowd halted on the quays to wait for the firing. The chiefs of the clubs and their principal satellites ranged themselves before the gateway of the Hôtel de Ville. The government had ordered Colonel Rey to close it, and defend it with two or three thousand of the volunteers of February; a brave, but confused, ragged and undisciplined body; a depository of sedition, which could not fail to return to the element of sedition at the first contact. But this very conformity with the turbulent and revolutionary elements from which the troop issued, gave it, in less grave disturbances, the audacity and authority necessary to resist the seditions.

About an hour rolled on in this way. The government, encircled and motionless, seemed to expect some action from the people; the people seeming, on their side, to await the issue of the deliberations of their government. As if to pass away the hour, the motionless crowd, with their eyes turned to the windows of the Hôtel, sang from time to time *La Marseillaise* and the air of the Girondists. Multiplied cries of "Long live the provisional government! Long live Louis Blanc! Long live Ledru Rollin!" mingled with rarer shouts of "Long live Lamartine!" seemed to indicate clearly that one of the objects of the meeting, at least in the plans of the leaders, was to protest indirectly against the proclamations to the people, which they attributed solely to Lamartine, and to avenge the minority of the government for what they conceived a humiliation to it, and to show the majority, and particularly Lamartine, that the voice of the people was not so much for him as for those who were imagined to be his enemies.

At last the crowd, weary of waiting for a conclusion they were ignorant of, seemed by their impatience to authorize the deputies of the clubs to penetrate into the Hôtel de Ville in their name, to convey to the government an expression of their adhesion and the homage of their strength. Cabet alone entered on an order of Lamartine. He conferred with him on the great staircase. After an assurance given by Cabet of the inoffensive intentions of the clubs, the government ordered Colonel Rey to let the delegates alone enter, and to shut the gates again. The people respected this order. A hundred leaders of clubs and pretended delegates from the people, who were in reality only most rabid club-members, entered the interior of the palace. The government removed to the largest halls to receive them.

The president of the provisional government, Dupont de l'Eure, eighty-three years of age, bowed down by lassitude, but intrepid in heart and serene in countenance, was seated, with his back resting against the wainscot of the great hall. Arago, Albert, Louis Blanc, and Ledru Rollin, stood on his right; Lamartine, Marrast, Crémieux, Pagnerre, Garnier Pagès, stood at his left; all equally resolved to maintain the dignity, moral independence, and integrity of the government, or to die.

The clubs appeared in the persons of their principal leaders: the greater part were unknown to the members of government; some had already been received individually at the head of their clubs by Lamartine. The most notable who walked at their head were Blanqui, Lacambre, and De Flotte of the navy, satellites of Blanqui; Barbès, Sobrier, Cabet, Raspail, Lucien, Michelot, Longepied, Lebreton, Saugier, Danse, and fifty others, orators or chiefs of popular meetings, whose names and faces were new to the government. Some groups of delegates of the people, minor actors in the drama, filled the halls and staircases behind the clubs. They ranged themselves opposite to the government, leaving a space of a few steps between them and the chair of Dupont de l'Eure.

"Citizens, what do you ask?" said Dupont de l'Eure, in a firm voice.

Blanqui then took the word as in the name of all, and in a discourse measured in form, but imperative in meaning, he promulgated to the government the pretended popular views of a people who did not entertain them. It was the adjournment of the elections; the placing of the future National Assembly under suspicion; the removal, from principle and forever, of the troops from Paris; implicit obedience to the dictatorial rule of



the multitude, expressed by the clubs; in a word, the complete subjection of the government, the removal beyond the pale of the law of all but the populace of Paris in the nation, and indefinite dictatorship imposed on the government, on the condition that this government should submit and itself ratify the dictatorship of sovereign demagogueism.

While Blanqui was speaking, the countenance of the members of the government were impressed with indignation and shame. The fiercest sections of the clubs sustained, by look, attitude and gesture, his most significant words. He ended by summoning the government, in the name of the people, to deliberate as promptly as possible on the text of these resolutions, and to make the result of their deliberation known during this session.

Lamartine did not deceive himself as to the secret motive which had inspired this great popular act. He doubted not that it had been particularly directed against him. He had noticed in the programme of the clubs the exact reverse of what he had caused to be signed by the government on the preceding evening, in the proclamation to the French nation.

The cries of "Down with Lamartine, and long live the minority of the government!" sufficiently indicated to him the intention of the leaders of the grand review. But Lamartine also perceived clearly that this demonstratory review, exaggerated and altered by the clubs, and especially by the Blanqui club, overshot the mark which appeared to him to have been assigned by its organizers. Although he was evidently the most interested in the programme of the clubs, and was naturally brought most nearly in connection with the orators, he believed it his duty to keep silent, and to leave to his colleagues, more popular and less suspected than himself with the demagogue agitators, the task of taking up the challenge, and of avenging or of surrendering the independence of the government. Avenged, it would suffice for him; surrendered, he would have claimed it again in his own name and that of his friends.

His colleagues did not leave him long in this perplexity; they avenged it in terms equally eloquent and energetic.

Louis Blanc spoke like a man who identifies himself completely with the spirit of his colleagues; who rises, in the name of their independence and his own, against the oppression, even of ideas, which might be his, perhaps, if they were not ordered from him. His speech visibly disconcerted the countenances of the popular leaders.

Ledru Rollin spoke like a member of government who yields nothing of his independence and his moral liberty, even to the influence of his friendship; he defended the army, momentarily removed from Paris, from motives of prudence, but reconciled as speedily as possible with the nation, whose right and force it bore in itself. He yielded nothing on the elections, and on the sovereignty of the representation. He was skilful in remaining firm. These two replies, of men in whom the agitators had hoped perhaps to meet with complicity or encouragement, reduced them for a moment to immobility and silence. A wavering was manifested in their ranks, as in a defeated army. The wisest among them drew them on towards retreat; but a group of seven or eight men, who surrounded Blanqui, and who, over the head of their chiefs, confronted the government, seemed decided upon the utmost extremities. They were the friends of Blanqui. One of them was a young man, devoted with fanaticism, it is said, to the ideas and the person of his master; his countenance pale, martial, concentrated, was fixed in its features as if by an expression of unalterable conviction; his form tall, motionless, without gesture, enclosed in rectangular lines; his right hand thrust beneath his coat, buttoned up to the throat; the cold and inflexible resolution of his look, fastened on a member of the government, recalled to the mind and to the eye the statues of Brutus meditating the last conspiracy of liberty, the hand grasping a poniard concealed beneath his toga.

Although he appeared as timid in speech as he seemed resolute in attitude, when he saw that the mob was wavering, he raised his voice, as he advanced a few steps towards the members of government.

"All that is fine talking," said he, in allusion to Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin; "but 't is nought but words; acts are what we need, and what we need before quitting this spot. We will not retire until you have deliberated here in our presence, immediately." Upon these words a murmur of approbation rose from the ranks of those who surrounded him. An uproar of indignation broke forth from the ranks of the government. Louis Blanc replied in an excited manner; Ledru Rollin was indignant; Crémieux, Marie, Dupont de l'Eure, all the members present, protested with intrepidity against the seditious demands of this group and its orator. Explanations were confusedly offered; it was agreed that there was accord on some points, that there was difference on others, that deliberation should be held upon all, but that it should be held away from

the presence of the ringleaders, freely, worthily, at its day, at its hour, and without any promise or even pre-judgment of the resolutions of the government. This petition of the clubs would be considered only as a petition.

At all these considerations, supported by the reason and the moderation of a part even of the delegates of the clubs themselves, the followers of Blanqui tossed the head in sign of resistance and obstinacy. Sobrier, who loved Lamartine at that time, and who had a dread of blood, made useless efforts to calm these men of extremes. — "It is well, it is well, citizens," at length shouted the orator; "these sentiments are acceptable; but do you all have them? — are there no traitors among you? But is there not one man who has held language opposed to these wishes of the people? But Lamartine, for example, is he not with you?" — "Let him explain! Let him explain!" cried, with a threatening tone, the sectaries of the principal clubs. — "No! no! no!" exclaimed Sobrier, Cabet, Raspail, Barbès. "All the members of government are united; our confidence is undivided!" But the speaker and his friends kept calling upon Lamartine, by looks, attitudes and gestures. Lamartine, advancing then a few steps before them, signified that he wished to speak, and confronting the pale and menacing countenances of these interlocutors, he said: —

"Citizens, I have heard my name; I respond to it. I will add nothing to what has just been said to you, with as much dignity as propriety, by our colleague Louis Blanc. You feel, like ourselves, like us in whom the people have reposed their confidence, and in whom the day of combat and of victory is personified, that there is no good government save on condition that you have the good sense to confer a moral authority upon that government. Is the moral authority of this government anything else, not only for itself, but also for the republic, for the departments, for Europe, whose attention is fixed upon us, than its complete independence of all foreign pressure? That is the independence of the government, that is its dignity, that is its sole moral force, be well assured of it! What are we here? Look! behold our venerable president, laden with the weight and the glory of his eighty years, and who has wished to consecrate his last strength, at our head, to the establishment of the republic," (*Bravo! bravo!*) "with independence, with dignity and liberty; and certainly in dignity and liberty there is no French citizen who could belie the name of Dupont de l'Eure. Around him, whom do you see? A small group of men unarmed,

without material support, without soldiers, without guards; who have no other authority than that which the people maintains for them by respecting them; who seek for no other; who plunge, who immerse themselves wholly in this people from whom they came, and who have taken in the republic so energetic and so perilous a part only to be the guarantees of those popular interests, hitherto sacrificed under the monarchies, under the aristocracies, under the oligarchies, that we have traversed.

"But in order that this sentiment may have its effect, in order that these popular principles may become useful applications to the happiness and to the rights of the people, what is requisite? The continuance, possible in calm, in order, of the confidence which you have given us. What could we oppose to you? Nothing except one thing, your own reason itself! That might of the general reason which interposes alone here between you and us, which inspires us, and which checks you before us! It is this moral force, invisible, and yet all-powerful, which renders us calm ourselves, independent and dignified in face of these masses which surround this palace of a people defended by its own inviolability!" (*Very good! shout the pacified clubs.*)

"This last barrier of our independence," resumes Lamartine, "we would defend till death, as members of government and as men, if the pressure of the multitude wished to pass it! And it is not for ourselves, it is above all for you, that we would perish in its defence! What would a people be without government, and what would a disgraced government become for a people?" (*Good!*)

"I come to three questions that you have proposed: a delay of ten more days for the elections of the National Guard.

"With respect to this, in previous deliberations, we have thought to anticipate both the legitimate wishes of the people and your own desires. It has been represented to us that the imposing, solid, patriotic, republican mass of the population, which forms the immense popular element of Paris, had not perhaps had time to inscribe their names on the lists, and thus enter the vast patriotic frame-work within which we would henceforth enclose the whole public force. We at first adjourned for eight days; we afterwards adjourned till the 25th of March. I cannot pronounce individually, and I would not at this moment, upon the results of the new deliberation which



may take place upon this subject ; but you have fifteen days in all for the inscription.

"As for the troops, I already replied, yesterday, to one of the patriotic associations to which you belong : the question does not exist ; there are no troops at Paris, except perhaps fifteen hundred or two thousand men dispersed at the outer posts, for the protection of the gates and railroads, and it is not true that the government has thought of bringing them nearer Paris. He must needs be insane, after what has passed, after the fallen royalty has seen eighty thousand troops sink before the unarmed people of Paris, who should think of imposing on it, with the aid of a few scattered corps animated with the same republicanism, wishes contrary to your wishes and to your independence ! We have not thought of it, we do not think of it, we never shall think of it ! Behold the truth ; carry it to the people ; its liberty belongs to them, because they have conquered it—belongs to them, because they will know how to guard it from all disorder ! The republic wants no other defender at home than the people in arms.

"But although that be the truth to-day, and we declare to you that we want only the people in arms to protect our institutions, do not thence conclude that we should ever consent to the loss of French soldiers." (*No ! no ! bravo !*) "Do not thence conclude that we would cast suspicion on our brave army, and that we interdict ourselves from summoning it even to the interior, even to Paris, if the circumstances of war should compel such or such dispositions of our forces for the external security of our country !

"The soldier, who yesterday was merely a soldier, is to-day a citizen like you and us." (*Yes, yes !*) "We have given him the right to contribute by his vote as a citizen to the representation and to liberty, which he shall be as able to defend as any other fraction of the people.

"As to the third and principal question, that of the postponement of the convocation of the National Assembly to a distant period, I will not consent to pledge in anything either the opinion of my colleagues, or especially my own, upon such a measure, which concerns too deeply, in my view, the rights of the whole country. I wish, from respect for our independence, nowise to prejudice a decree which would tend to declare to the nation that Paris affected the monopoly of liberty and of the republic ; and which would make us assume, in the name of a single capital, and under the constraint of a mass of people, whose inten-

tions are good, but whose very number is imperative, the dictatorship of liberty, conquered here by all, but conquered by entire France, and not by a few citizens only. If you should command me to deliberate under force, and to pronounce beyond the pale of law the whole nation which is not at Paris, — to declare it during three months, six months, for aught I know, excluded from its representation and from its constitution, — I should say to you what I said a few days ago to another government: you should not tear this vote from my breast until bullets had pierced it!" (*Applause.*)

"No! rather a thousand times deprive us of our title, than deprive us of our freedom of opinion, of our dignity, of our evident inviolability, — evident abroad, be informed, as well as at home. For in order that a government may be respected, it is indispensable that it should have not only the reality, but the appearance, of liberty." (*Very good! very good!*)

"Comprehend, then, your own power in ours, your own dignity in ours, your own independence in ours, and leave us in the very interest of this people, to reflect and deliberate in composure, to adopt or to reject the wishes of which you are the organ to us. We promise you, I promise for myself, only to weigh them conscientiously, without fear or prejudice, and to decide what shall appear to us not only the will of the people of Paris, but the right and the will of the whole republic." (*Very good.*)

The deputation applauded; some of its members shook hands with Lamartine.

One of them said, "Be assured that the people is yonder only to sustain the provisional government."

Lamartine replies, "I am convinced of it; but the nation might possibly be deceived by it. Beware of assemblings of this nature, however fine they may be; the eighteenth *Bru-maires* of the people might bring about, in spite of it, the eighteenth Brumaire of despotism; and neither you nor we desire that."

Silence in the group of violent clubs, applause in the group of moderate clubs, followed these words. But the more obstinate resumed their audacity, and tending evidently towards pronouncing the ostracism of Lamartine, "We have not confidence in all the members of government," cried they. — "Yes, yes! in all! in all!" replied the voices of Suau, Sobrier, Barbès, and hundreds of their friends. "No, no!" — "Yes, yes!" — "They must be constrained!" — "They must be respected!"

and a thousand other contradictory cries, divided the groups. Violence was on the lips, in the accent, in the looks. The members of government remained firm. Barbès, then attached to Lamartine, Sobrier, Raspail, and Cabet, pressed into the space which separated the two parties. Blanqui remained motionless, and appeared rather to quiet his followers than to approve their resistance.

Cabet spoke; his discourse made a good impression on the crowd. Barbès, Raspail, and others, still supported the words of Cabet, and defended the independence of the government. Disorder entered the groups, confusion the councils; the cries of "*Vive le gouvernement provisoire!*" which rose from the square, and which bore witness to the attachment of the people, made the men of extremes reflect. These clamors taught them that if they lifted the hand against a government dear to the people, the vengeance of the people would not be slow to make them expiate their crime. Barbès, Sobrier, Suau, and Cabet, profited by this wavering of the column to make it retire, and to deliver the government from this constraint. The clubs evacuated the halls and the stairways; they resumed their position in front of the fence of the Hôtel de Ville. The government, loudly called upon by a hundred thousand voices, descended, following their president on the outer steps of the great staircase. It was saluted by frantic acclamations, in the midst of which the names of Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc were heard to predominate more than usual. Lamartine, thus admonished that the favor of the nearest portion of the multitude was addressed to them, permitted them to present themselves first to the people, and to wrap themselves in their popularity. He fell back into the second rank, and received but little applause.

Louis Blanc harangued the people, and thanked them for this display of force with which they surrounded their dictators. The people, deceived by these expressions of favor, sincerely believed that they had just performed an act of patriotic adhesion, and struck a blow at faction, when they had, in fact, committed a seditious violence upon the government, for the benefit of a minority of the clubs and a minority of Paris.

The members of the majority of the government prudently feigned to consider this demonstration as if it had been made for their own interests; but they did not disguise from themselves the real meaning of the day, and they began to distrust an influence which had proceeded, and could proceed, to any extremity. Their countenance affected satisfaction and grati-

tude, while their soul was profoundly indignant at the audacity and success of certain leaders. Paris itself was only half deceived. From two o'clock in the afternoon till nine o'clock in the evening, the capital saw this mass of people defile over the boulevards and its principal quarters, not armed with muskets, but armed by their number, which resembled one of those ancient migrations, transporting a whole nation from one bank of a river to the other. The more this army was calm, sober, silent, disciplined, governed by a watch-word, ignorant, but obedient — the more its aspect imposed upon the capital, without menacing any one; the more it weighed upon the minds of all, and said openly that Paris was henceforth at the mercy of the destitute alone. But it said also, that these proletaries, calm in their triumph, generous and civilized in their power, animated by the instinct of order, raised against what they believed to be anarchy, to support a government which they were told was menaced, were no longer the brutal people of 1793, but the people of 1848, — the presage of another civilization.

Lamartine went out alone, on foot, at nightfall, from the Hôtel de Ville. He passed two hours, unknown and mingled in the crowd, at the extremity of the Saint Honoré, upon the place Vendôme, contemplating the silent procession of this multitude.

The costume of these men was decent, their step military, their countenance expressing strength and peace. They evidently feared that they might frighten the citizens and the women. Terrible from their numbers, they were reassuring in spirit. Paris trembled under their steps. For twelve hours there was not a cry of a demagogue, not a sign of terror, not an insult, not a violence, not an accident, to deplore in this crowd. It respected every one, and it respected itself.

## X.

Lamartine returned to the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, uncertain of the interpretation which public opinion would give in the morning to this event. He was not deceived himself as to its design. He saw in it a signal defeat of the moderate majority of the government, and an insolent oppression exercised by certain men, disguised under the form of a concurrence and a homage to the republic; a review of the forces of the ultra-revolutionary minority of Paris, commanded by those who



wished to constrain and rule the republic by intimidation, in appealing to the real and patriotic enthusiasm of the people for their government.

He resolved to feign to be deceived, and to assume the air of considering as a powerful support what he knew in fact was a tyranny. It was the only course to prevent Paris and France from being struck with stupor and despair for public order. But after that hour he felt that he had two difficult spirits to conciliate within the government, up to the end of the dictatorship. The programme of the clubs, which consisted in perpetuating the dictatorship, in adjourning the elections, in putting France beyond the law, and in making a single city and a single class of the population of that city rule, through certain men, would find sympathy within the circle of the government. The members of the clubs, the delegates of the Luxembourg, the emissaries of the club of clubs, — a kind of officious commissioners, who served as channels of communication between the minister of the interior and the public mind, — appeared imbued with this idea, that France was not ripe for liberty, such as they understood it; that they could not restore its own government to the country; that the republic belonged to them exclusively, from the right acquired by having originated it, and by democratic superiority; that they must reign in their own name and for themselves alone; and that, to secure obedience, they must hold the language and assume the position of the committee of public safety.

Lamartine, on the contrary, and the majority of the government, were convinced, that liberty monopolized by a few would be servitude and degradation for all; that the adjournment of the elections, and making the National Assembly outlaws, would be the signal for the insurrection of the departments and civil war; that the dictatorship of pretended republicans, by right of democratic supremacy, would only be the dictatorship of popularity, to be enhanced by violence and crime; that each week would bring forth and devour one of these pretended dictators; that Paris would be drowned in anarchy and blood, and that the name of the republic would a second time perish, amidst the execrations of the present and the incredulity of the future. He consequently resolved to combat to the utmost, and by every legitimate means, the conspiracies of the partisans of a dictatorship and of committees of public safety, and even to sacrifice himself, if necessary, for the most prompt and complete restoration of the sovereignty of all France and of the government to the national representatives.

## XI.

But there was an abyss of anarchy and eventual despotism which it appeared at that time impossible to traverse before the arrival of that day. The men most wise and consummate in policy were incredulous in this respect. They did not cease to repeat to Lamartine that he was attempting a chimerical enterprise; that he would perish at the task; and that never would the ultra-republican and conventionalist party, having obtained a footing in the government, masters of two hundred thousand men in Paris, and of the influence of the commissioners and the clubs in the departments, of the industrial classes everywhere, of the police, of the Luxembourg, of the public square by the absence of the army, of half of the National Guard by the arming of the faubourgs, of the national workshops by wages and sedition, allow power to be torn from them by the elections, without rending it, and imbruing it in blood, before resigning it to the nation.

Lamartine knew, better than they, all these difficulties and perils: but he was sure of his colleagues; he felt himself in the right; he judged men with a sagacity, benevolent, it is true, but instinctive and rapid; besides, he had no other choice. He must triumph, or perish heroically and honorably in the enterprise. He was resigned to that fate, if it must be so, sure that his very death, immediately avenged, would be the signal of the general insurrection of the country against the tyranny of the demagogue dictators. He marched onward to his object, then, without illusion, but not without hope; decided to negotiate or to combat, provided that he triumphed as to the two points which were of all importance,—the question of war abroad, and the question of the convocation of the National Assembly at home.

## XII.

The demonstration of the seventeenth of March, and the imperative programme of the clubs, had sufficiently revealed to him the idea of dictatorship entertained by the visible or secret leaders of this movement. They had borne the false voice of the people, to publish it at the Hôtel de Ville. Since that day, the journals of the revolution; the movements, by night, in the clubs; the strolling orators in the crowds; the acts, words and circulars, of some popular commissioners in the provinces; words uttered from the heat of conviction in the conversations

of men intimately allied with the clubs; the confidences, revelations and placards,—all indicated to Lamartine that the adjournment of the elections, and the indefinite prolongation of the dictatorship, were the watchwords of the secret ultra-republican committees. If this idea, which flattered the pride of the turbulent population of Paris, to whom it decreed the empire, had time to be propagated and disseminated, so as to become the creed and passion of the masses, there would be an end of the republic; it could be extirpated only by the sword. France would be obliged to re-conquer her capital through waves of blood. The reign of this turbulent and exclusive party of the people, achieved by the tribunes, at once sovereign and enchained, like the dictator dreamed of by Marat, would be inevitably a reign of executioners, soon to become victims, to make room for other executioners, victims in their turn. Lamartine trembled for his country. No want of sleep was spared to prevent so cruel a catastrophe for the revolution.

Two means remained for him—force and negotiation. He resolved to combine them, and to employ them in turn, at every hazard, according to the men and circumstances he should be obliged to contend with.

A brave general,—who has since died for his country,—an intrepid soldier, a chief adored by his troops, an old citizen, Négrier, commanded the army of the north. This army, of twenty-six thousand men, was controlled by the hand of its general with a vigor and gentleness of command that enchained it to his will by love more than by discipline. Négrier had been sometimes attacked in the council by the denunciations of the demagogue commissioners, who reproached him with having served under the princes, and who suspected his honor when they suspected his fidelity to the republic. These suspicions had no foundation. His heart might be devoted to gratitude; his duty was to his country. M. Arago, minister of war, the constant and courageous defender of the officers of the army, always energetically refused to ratify these encroachments or these accusations of certain disorganizing commissioners. Lamartine had also sustained the generals against the revolutionary omnipotence of the pro-consuls, and Négrier in particular. As minister of foreign affairs, he wished a disposable army, and one safe from faction, on the frontier of Belgium. Belgium might become, at any moment, as in 1792, the battle-field of Europe; for it is one of the grand breaches of France. As a statesman, he wished the

nucleus of an army at Lille, in order that if the anarchical and sanguinary demagogues should triumph at Paris, the moderate republicans, vanquished and expelled from Paris, should have a reserve prepared in the department of the north. This reserve, under the command of Négrier, would be, in this case, the rallying point of the National Guard of those excellent departments, and would re-conquer Paris and the republic from the tyranny of the demagogues, with which it was every day menaced.

### XIII.

Négrier, on his part, without being personally acquainted with Lamartine, knew, from his speeches and his acts, that he had, in the minister of foreign affairs, a man after his own heart. A friend of the general, M. D——, commandant of battalion in the National Guard of Paris, an active confidant of the efforts of Lamartine to save order and restrain the revolution, made many journeys to the army of the north, and was the intelligent agent of the communications between Lamartine and Négrier. The general held himself ready, either to receive the government from Lille, in case of retreat from Paris, or to march upon Amiens or Abbeville at the first call which the government should make to those departments to come to the aid of Paris. This reserved army of the north, under the command of a resolute and faithful general, was the last resource of Lamartine. It reassured him, not for himself, but for the Parisians and for France; for he well knew that if the demagogues should triumph over the good citizens, he would be their first victim. But he did not doubt of the future. The army of the north, recruited in ten days, by twenty thousand men from the army of the Rhine, and by five hundred thousand National Guards from the departments of the north, the east, and the west, could not fail to sink in their own blood the dictators and committees of public safety who dreamed of renewing the tyrannies of 1793. This thought, in the greatest extremities of the government, gave repose to the mind of Lamartine. The name of Négrier sounded secretly in his ear like a last hope, or, at least, like a certain vengeance of society overthrown. He did not confide this thought to any one, from fear of drawing upon Négrier the suspicions and accusations of the demagogues.



## XIV.

Tranquil on this side, he resolved to make efforts of a different nature upon the spirit and patriotism of the principal chiefs of sects, opinions, clubs, and radical journals, alone powerful enough at that time to excite Paris; men without whom the most audacious conspirators could do nothing with the people. If he should fail, in his intercourse with them, to obtain from them patience, reason, and moderation, until the day of the general elections, he would advise with his friends of the government, and hold himself ready for a desperate combat between the two camps of the republic in Paris. If he should succeed, he would become master of the most active forces of the revolution, through these men, and he would paralyze by them the attempts of communism, of terrorism, and the partisans of the dictatorship and of war. He believed in the good intentions of the very men who were the most fanatical, and in the diplomacy of confidence and frankness with them. It was this faith that saved Paris and France from the greatest disasters. If he had not opened his heart to these adversaries, prejudiced against him,—if he had not read their soul and their designs,—these men would have persevered in believing that Lamartine had only entered the republic to raise it and betray it; that he plotted a counter revolution; that he dreamed of the superannuated part of a popular Monk; and these men, uniting against him, with the partisans of war, of the dictatorship, and of the proscription of the government, would have infallibly thrown France into the convulsions of a conventionalist government.

## XV.

Some of these men Lamartine already knew. He made advances, to induce others to have interviews with him.

One of the most eminent of the political writers of the time was M. de Lamennais. M. de Lamennais, formerly an apostle of Catholicism, had changed his faith and his part, for the part of an apostle of the destitute. His soul was melted by their misery. His style was hardened by their resentment. For twelve years he was the voice of their griefs, and sometimes the cry of their vengeance. The proclamation of the republic had suddenly, and, as it were, miraculously appeased him. It is the effect of victories over generous hearts. He had passed

instantly to the side of society, menaced by terrorism, socialism, and the demagogues. He published a journal, powerful over the minds of the people, from its name and its talent, — *Le Peuple Constituant*. Lamartine, who, up to that time, had never seen in M. de Lamennais anything but a writer, was astonished to find in him, suddenly, the character, moderation, firmness, and views of a politician. This journal made the war, the demagogues, and the anti-social doctrines unpopular. If M. de Lamennais had persevered, France would have counted in him one statesman the more. Lamartine met him frequently at that time at the house of a woman distinguished for her mind and her liberalism. M. de Lamennais had written a plan of a constitution, in which the public force was not sufficiently concentrated. The name of M. de Lamennais, become moderate, then intimidated excesses, and destroyed chimeras. M. de Lamennais, since appointed to the constituent assembly, too much disturbed and discontented at the reaction, has retraced his steps, and has sought again the path of shadows; an immense loss for the practical republic. When genius deserts, the cause suffers, and the age is in mourning.

Raspail, very powerful in the faubourgs of Paris, consented to have an interview with Lamartine. This interview was long, and without concealment on either side. Lamartine had once heard Raspail defending his cause before the House of Peers. He had been struck with that original and picturesque eloquence, at once resigned and intrepid. The politics of Raspail appeared to consist in those religious, popular, and equalizing aspirations, rather felt than digested in his mind. He became impatient; he was about to urge the people, by his journal and his club, to demand the adjournment of the elections, and a popular dictator for a ruler. Lamartine calmed him, by showing him the dangers which would arise for the republic from so intolerable an usurpation. He opened to him indefinite prospects of progress and social charity, derived from the republican institution, as far as the developments of the reason and virtue of society would admit. He convinced him of the impracticability of violent transformations of the foundations of property. He conjured him to give time and confidence to the country, by usurping nothing from the sovereignty of all. Raspail, more philosophical than ambitious, was touched by the reasons and ardor of Lamartine; he promised him to retrace his steps, to combat the plots for a dictatorship, to await the national sovereignty, and not to conspire, save

openly and at the tribune. The almost superstitious influence which he exercised over the minds of the masses contributed much, during this period, to discourage conspiracies, and to restrain the people of the faubourgs in patience and law.

Cabet, whose feeble imagination allowed him evidently to be carried away by dreams of the most unbounded ambition, was less accessible to reason. One could see that his chimerical invention of communism was ever floating between him and the person with whom he was conversing. However, as a citizen, Lamartine had only to congratulate himself upon his intercourse with Cabet. This sectarian chief could not see with pleasure the attempts for a dictatorship, which would give the supremacy to the socialists or to the tribunes, his rivals in system and popularity; he restrained the communists of his party, and through them an active portion of the people, in expectation that Lamartine would overawe all parties.

A young man, who had once shown great promise of talent at the Chamber of Peers, M. d'Alton Shée, was at this time applauded in the popular meetings. He combated with warmth and disinterestedness the anarchical plans and radical doctrines. Since drawn into other paths, he lost track of the republic. Lamartine, who had hoped much from his activity, his courage, and his talent, lost sight of him.

Barbès still came, from time to time, at this epoch, to the house of Lamartine. His intentions were right, but confused; he began to be misled, without wishing it, and without knowing it, by his old comrades of imprisonment. A man of action, men of system drew him, without his distrusting it, to their cause. He was the soldier of the impossible; he could not delay passing over to the desperate men of the democracy.

But Barbès, capable of conspiring, was incapable of betraying. His presence in the ranks of the anarchists reassured more than it disquieted Lamartine. He believed in his seduction, but he was sure of his loyalty.

One of the friends and companions of captivity of Barbès, the young Lamieussens, exercised a happy influence over the radical republicans of this camp of the revolution. Lamartine had distinguished him, and proposed to make use of his talents. He placed, at this time, a great number of young republicans abroad, in the chanceries, the vice-consulates, and in some of the consulates, dependent on his office. These nominations, since blamed, were all politic. It was not proper to allow to

become embittered or vitiated in the factions of Paris those men who had suffered for their cause, and who rendered services to the republic by directing and moderating the people of Paris.

## XVI.

Sobrier continued constantly to see Lamartine. Enthusiastic, rather than ambitious, he acquired each day more ascendancy over the revolutionary growth of the quarters in the centre of Paris. He employed, at this time, that ascendancy in the service of the ideas of order and moderation. He counterbalanced, by his journal and his club, the influence of the other journals and other conventicles of the party of dictatorships and excess. He wished to maintain the integrity of the government, even by arms. His journal, *La Commune de Paris*, often gave vent to hymns and doctrines of evil date; but he recommended order, the fraternity of all ranks of citizens, respect for property, the inviolability of conscience, peace with the powers, and negotiation until the day when the National Assembly should come to represent all the rights and to make all the laws. These doctrines of Sobrier had so much the more credit with the multitude, as no person surpassed him, in their eyes, in exaggeration of fanaticism and hope.

He had, moreover, personal courage. Acquainted with the projects formed daily in the ultra-republican meetings for decimating the government, for surprising the ministry of finance and that of foreign affairs, and of carrying off Lamartine, and substituting men of extreme opinions in his stead, Sobrier had enrolled five or six hundred men. He had obtained arms for them from Caussidière for a perfect loyal design; he held a sort of head-quarters of armed police in the rue de Rivoli. Lamartine was informed by Sobrier himself of all these circumstances. He had even contributed for him, from the disbursers of the civil list, the loan or rent of the rooms occupied for the head-quarters opposite the Tuileries. Whenever alarming intelligence respecting a manifestation against the public peace, or a plot against the government or himself, reached Lamartine, he gave information to Sobrier, who received his orders and prepared his men in groups, and his means of defence around the threatened ministers.

Paris was then entirely stripped of troops, and unprovided with a National Guard. Parties defied each other. Each had



its police and army. Sobrier was the Caussidière of the other half of Paris. Lamartine could only praise his disinterested zeal for the public peace up to the time of the elections; he then abandoned himself to bad counsels, plunged into the electoral movements of the most exclusive socialists, suffered the spirit of his journal to be perverted, and, with puerile pertinacity, surrounded himself with a system of armed conspiracy, which was no more than a folly, though it resembled a plot. General Courtais informed Lamartine of it. Lamartine, who had ceased to see him since these scandalous doings, sent word to him twice to dismiss his satellites, return his arms, and again enter the pale of the law; in default of which, government would employ severity towards him. He obeyed, but imperfectly. We shall encounter him again of the 15th of May.

## XVII.

Lamartine also formed open relations with the most influential minds and most popular orators of all active opinions, and of all the democratic clubs of Paris and the faubourgs. He received at his house, he persuaded and enlisted, the principal leaders of the great populous quarters of the Bastille, faubourg Saint Marceau, and faubourg Saint Antoine. He often passed entire nights in discussing freely with these men the foreign and domestic situation of the republic, as well as the most interesting questions of political economy, which then served as a text for the discontent or excitement of the people.

He sometimes found them rebellious; oftener accessible to his counsels. Yet he always convinced them of the necessity of not rending the republic by civil dissensions, which would render abortive all ideas of social progress they might aim at for the future, of combating the dictators of extreme parties, of calming the people, and of submitting to their own sovereignty in the National Assembly.

These men, moved by the sincere and often impassioned language of Lamartine, acted with loyalty in the spirit of his wishes, reserving their opinions on certain texts of the discussion, and agreeing with him upon essential points. This open-hearted policy, or rather these constant and true-hearted negotiations between one of the heads of government and the principal heads of clubs, prevented misunderstanding, revealed plots, saved Paris, and cleared the way for the National Assembly. This was therefore the conspiracy of honest men, against that

of the perverse. Lamartine particularly attached himself to young men, who were sincere even in their revolutionary exaggerations. He did not suffer himself to be scandalized by the names which then inspired the greatest prejudice or disgust in Paris. He knew that the reputation of a man is often an honest calumny of those who only know him by name. He believed that many shadows were dissipated on the approach of the light of the heart. Besides, no repugnance is allowable in him who would save his country.

In this way he became acquainted with, and used, without debasing himself or degrading them, the principal agitators of the demagogical clubs of the Sorbonne, where forty thousand proletarians of the quarter of the Panthéon received the breath of agitation; — many of the delegates of the working-men of the Luxembourg, men of good sense, already strongly repelled by the industrial and economical sophistries of Louis Blanc; — a young mulatto, whom the crowd followed from club to club, by the blaze of his tropical eloquence, and De Flotte, one of the most faithful adepts of Blanqui.

This young mulatto, Servien, enthusiastic and persuasive at the tribune, was mild, timid, and almost silent, in private life. He confessed to Lamartine that he had more passions than ideas on these social questions, with which he crazed his auditors. Lamartine imparted to him the fruits of his own studies, and suggested to him that socialism of feeling, which produces the union of the different classes of citizens, without stealing it away from any one class. Servien breathed peace and conciliation to the masses, who were charmed with his voice. Lamartine afterwards sent him to his brethren, the blacks, to prepare them for emancipation, by harmonizing with the colonists. He hoped that the colonies would return this remarkable talent to the Assembly.

De Flotte was a young officer of the navy, of good birth, studious, and honest, but too fanatical a disciple of schools for the radical renovation of society. He followed Blanqui, as the most radical of the revolutionists, but he influenced his master by the loftiness of his intelligence. Lamartine, after having thoroughly measured him, found in his heart neither crime, nor vice, nor prejudice, incompatible with the conservative and progressive social order which a well-inspired republic ought to guarantee. He felt that this young man, who was out of his place in the midst of factions, might be rendered useful by the republic. He determined to remember him when

an occasion presented. He learned afterwards that De Flotte, though a stranger to the insurrection of the 15th of May, had been arrested on the ground of his connection with Louis Blanc, and that he was languishing in irons. He appealed in his behalf. It was through De Flotte that Lamartine signified to Blanqui that he would receive him also with interest, and perhaps with advantage to the republic.

### XVIII.

Blanqui was then suspected, both by the government and the extreme parties. The clubs, that he ruled by his violence and talent, envied him. The partisans of the dictatorship, who saw in him a rival, or an avenger, feared him. They did not cease to point him out to the public as the only dangerous man of faction, that they might the better conceal their faction behind his. Blanqui, on his part, detested these men, because they had endeavored to dishonor him. He kept aloof from them. He studied to go beyond them in radicalism, that he might distance them in popularity. He called them ambitious and deceivers of the people. The echo of his voice made them tremble every evening. They knew that Blanqui was surrounded by a few fanatics, capable of avenging their master by steel and fire. This evil renown of Blanqui was a phantom ever standing between them and their ambition. They never ceased to expatiate, in the most menacing rumors, on the plots of Blanqui and his party. The very men who circulated these stories put little faith in them. He was a Catiline of the imagination. At one time he was to besiege the government in the Luxembourg, and seize them in the night-time to carry them to Vincennes; at another, he was going to burn Paris, and profit by the tumult to proclaim his tyranny, in the name of the people. Again, he was going, with a few accomplices, to surprise the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, and assassinate Lamartine. The credulous people whispered these reports. Lamartine did not credit them. He was, doubtless, afflicted at the verbal scandals of this little faction; but he was not disturbed at the accusations of treason, and threats of death, which rang nightly through this club. He knew that the danger to the government and France lay in less unpopular factions. He was even not sorry that the really impotent faction of this loud-voiced conspirator should counterbalance and intimidate other factions, in other clubs and other parties. He

had many times opposed the arrest of Blanqui, by Caussidière, without his colleagues being able to understand his motives.

The imagination of the public was excited even to terror by this notoriety, when, at six o'clock in the morning of a day in the latter part of March, or the early days of April, a man of almost indigent appearance, accompanied by two or three other men of unknown and suspicious look, entered the court-yard of the ministry of foreign affairs, gave his name, and asked to speak with the minister. Lamartine had just risen. The weather was hot. He was working, half-dressed, in his chamber. He gave orders to have Blanqui shown in, and advancing towards him, with his breast uncovered, he extended his hand to him.

"Well, Monsieur Blanqui," said he, smiling, "you have come to assassinate me. The time is favorable, and the opportunity excellent. You see I wear no cuirass."

Then making Blanqui sit down opposite him, he said: "Let us talk seriously. I wished to see you, and you have consented to hold an interview with me. This is a sign that our ideas on the republic are not, perhaps, as irreconcilable as appearances induce the vulgar to think. Let us talk it over thoroughly. I am going to disclose to you all my thoughts unveiled, like a man who has nothing to conceal, even from his enemies. You will see whether my political horizon is broad and luminous enough to afford all the friends of democracy room for their legitimate action, and satisfaction for their legitimate ambition of progress. You will interrupt me when objections occur to your mind, and I will explain what may seem to you obscure."

Lamartine then developed to Blanqui the idea of such a republic as he thought proper for a continental nation, bent for a long time to the monarchical yoke, and in which problems of socialism arising from industry, luxury and misery, had been for fifteen years agitating the subterranean strata of society. He showed the guaranties to be given to property, and the aid to be bestowed by institutions on proletarians. He went to the extent of his idea, but not beyond the limits of good sense and applicability. His conclusion was, a very strong government, the expression of the national will, coming from the whole people, and hence irresistible. He demonstrated the danger of war to the democratic idea, as well as to French nationality. He declared himself the inflexible enemy of every faction which wished to monopolize power by dictatorships, to stain it with blood by conventions, and to dismember it by anarchy



He professed the absolute dogma of the sovereignty of the sincere majority of the nation over the tyranny of one class, even should that class usurp the name of the people. He acknowledged his hatred against the ambitious corrupters of this people, and pity for the sophists who, by intoxicating them with radical chimeras, prepared for them the awakening of despair.

Blanqui had not interrupted him once. His ascetic and flexible face listened in every feature. His deep and introverted eye seemed to penetrate to the bottom of his interlocutor's heart, to seek there for an intention to seduce or mislead. He was too experienced not to see that the attitude, language and gestures of Lamartine, were radiant with sincerity. He made no fundamental objection to the ideas which he had just heard. He spoke with ironical disdain of the men who were then pretending to be the prophets of socialism and terrorism. He admitted their theories to be theories or tendencies, and acknowledged that they could have no immediate realization, beyond the guarantee of property and acquired rights.

As for the government, he acknowledged the necessity and conditions of force against anarchy. He granted to Lamartine readily that it was necessary to discourage the ambitious and turbulent partisans of a dictatorship, by adhering to the convocation of the National Assembly. He did not hesitate, in fact, to speak in this sense to his club, and to compel those factions who had begun to protest against the elections to retrace their steps.

Lamartine, after this political dialogue, in which he had obtained all he wished, that is to say, a concert for the convocation of the Assembly, and the promise of opposing dictatorial attempts, made the conversation fall into a familiar channel. Blanqui seemed to abandon himself to it with the effusion of a heart ulcerated and closed by persecution, which opens and expands in a chance intimacy. He told Lamartine the story of his life, which had been only one long conspiracy against governments; his love for a woman, whom his captivity could not detach from him, and whom his misfortunes had killed; his long imprisonments, his solitary reflections, his aspirations towards God, and his instinctive repugnance to blood; but his almost insurmountable taste for plots, a sort of second nature, contracted in his first conspiracies. He was plain, natural, high-toned, and sometimes pathetic. Lamartine did not hesitate to recognize in this conspirator all the aptitude and tact of a man born for negotiation, if he would ever be willing to bend

his independence to the yoke of a government. He asked him if he would consent to serve a republic according to his views, at home or abroad ; if this part of eternal censor and eternal aggressor on the institutions of his country did not seem to him onerous, sterile, ungrateful, and injurious to the republic itself. Blanqui allowed it, and did not even seem averse to the idea of serving abroad a government whose ministers he should honor, and whose views he should share. . . . Blanqui and the member of government parted, after an interview of several hours, apparently satisfied with each other, and ready to meet again, if circumstances should revive the necessity of other interviews.

### XIX.

Lamartine, from this day, did not cease to hold disinterested and honorable relations with the heart of the different parties who were contending for the direction of the people. His mind constantly exerted its influence for one object, — the convocation and acceptance of the National Assembly by the people of Paris.

Sure of the coöperation of the principal leaders of faction for this purpose, he had only, in conjunction with his colleagues, to watch over the seditious manifestations which might inopportunely submerge or sweep away the government.

The danger was hourly. The Guard Mobile, as yet, numbered only a few battalions, without uniform. The delegates of the Luxembourg regarded this establishment with reluctance, and made a thousand delays in equipping these young soldiers. General Duvivier was naturally impatient at these delays, and maintained his troops in resignation and service only by means of encouragement and care. The National Guard, under the direction of its general and leader of the staff, Guinard, organized, clothed, and armed themselves, to the number of ninety thousand men. They were soon going to choose officers, but so far they only existed in the form of an idea. The government was very properly unwilling to muster them before they were provided with uniforms, for fear that the contrast between the indigence of some and the military splendor of others might create an aristocratic division where they were desirous of establishing the unity of heart and hand. The foreign refugees in Paris increased in number and audacity. They assumed to control the will of government, and take war by force into their hands, in order to carry it to their different terri-

tories, by dragging the French flag into them. The Belgians besieged the minister of foreign affairs and the minister of the interior. The government was inflexibly resolved to refuse them an assistance which would have been as impolitic as dishonest, but they had only moral authority to oppose to their enrolments and projects of invasion.

The minister of foreign affairs had already frequently broken up their plots, and induced the Prince de Ligne to make them return to their country. Some hundreds of them, in fact, set out from Paris; but two or three thousand remained both in Paris and the department of the north. It appeared that, worn out by their entreaties and reproaches, a few men attached to the government, but without its knowledge, and even under its disavowal, through good nature and almost complicity, had fostered the passions of these refugees, had furnished them with means of transportation, and had prepared gun-carriages for them on the extreme frontier of France. On reaching Lille, the Belgian column demanded arms of General Négrier. Négrier, who had been cautioned by Lamartine, refused them arms. While this was passing in Lille, Lamartine, informed of the plot, wrote officially to the minister of the interior to induce him to oppose the arming and invasion of the Belgians by means of all his agents.

The minister of the interior obeyed this request by sending, in fact, orders to this effect to the frontier.

The government commissary at Lille, who at first thought, perhaps, that he was acting agreeably to the views of the government in favoring the arming of the refugees, retraced his steps. He made tardy efforts to render the return of the Belgians to their territory inoffensive. The Belgians, who saw three pupils of the Polytechnic School among them, and received from them wagons of muskets, believed in the complicity of the government. Entering with arms in their hands upon their native soil, they were received by a volley from the royal troops, and fell back into France, shouting treason! This cry reached Paris, and roused up the Germans, the Poles, and the clubs. This is what is called the invasion of *Risquons-Tout*, the name of the village where the conflict took place. But there was no treason in this affair, although there was some understanding between certain democrats of Paris and the Belgian refugees. Counter-orders, firmly issued by the government, had revoked orders given by secret agents. Foreign powers complained with reason, but moderation, and were

forced to acknowledge the good faith, and even the repressive vigor, of the minister of foreign affairs.

## XX.

The same attempts at mustering on French soil were made at Strasburg, and on the borders of the Rhine, notwithstanding the constant resistance of the French government. Finally, an expedition of Savoyard volunteers set out from Lyons, passed the Rhone, advanced upon Chambéry, seized it by surprise, and were expelled the next morning by a spontaneous insurrection of the mountaineers. M. Emmanuel Arago, who with difficulty ruled the industrial anarchy of Lyons, wrote to Lamartine to inform him of the plot he was opposing, without being able to repress it. M. Ledru Rollin, on the information of the minister of foreign affairs, sent commissaries and orders to disperse this concourse. Lamartine proposed the help of the army of the Alps to reëstablish order at Chambéry, and to repress the attempts of the refugees and French on a nationality of Savoy. The government was as much a stranger to this violation as the preceding government had been to the irruption of the Italians into Savoy. They published a proclamation, by which they drove all the refugees away from the frontiers. Lamartine and the minister of the interior had an understanding to effect this dissolution of riotous gatherings. Considerable sums were employed by M. Flocon to succor, remove, disperse, and send home, these thousands of refugees.

## XXI.

But the most active remained in Paris. These were the Poles. The Poles are the leaven of Europe. As brave on the field of battle as they are turbulent on the public square, they form the revolutionary army of the continent. They are always at home, provided they can agitate. They agitated Paris, and threatened the government. Acclimated by national hospitality, sustained by French committees, provided with indefatigable protectors, such as MM. Montalembert and Vavin, always ready to present their claims to power, they created one of the most serious difficulties of the minister of foreign affairs. Polish brigades, in the pay of France, had been opened to them; this was going as far as the right of nations would allow. To declare war for them against Prussia, Austria, and Russia, was a



crusade to conquer a sepulchre. To refuse them was to subject the government to unpopularity and seditions in their favor. They had their votes in all the clubs, their shout in all excitements, their hands in all the gatherings. They openly recruited sympathies in the national workshops. They audaciously announced Polish manifestations to intimidate the government. The sensible men of their nation in vain sought to restrain them. French demagogues employed the name of Poland to produce an explosion in France. Lamartine, who attentively watched over their movements, was indignant in finding more trouble in controlling these guests of France than France herself.

One evening, when he had returned home harassed with his daily struggles at the Hôtel de Ville, and was counting on the enjoyment of a few hours of sleep, so rare to him at that time, a large deputation of Poles, from some democratic club or other, which pretended to represent all Poland, was announced to him. This was the assumption of each one of five or six Polish parties, anarchists on foreign soil, and hostile to each other. They ranged themselves in two groups opposite the minister in the cabinet of foreign affairs. One of their orators spoke in an appropriate manner, although in too imperious a tone for a colony of strangers. Lamartine was about to reply with the consideration due to expatriation and misfortune, when shouts from the other group protested against the moderation of the first.

Another orator, issuing with frenzied gesticulations from the circle of malecontents, insolently apostrophized the minister, and the nation as represented in his person. He delivered a seditious discourse, which he wound up by informing Lamartine that the Poles had more authority over Paris than he had; that they would reckon with the government itself; that they had forty thousand men of the national workshops enrolled to join them on the next day, and march in a body on the Hôtel de Ville; and that if the government would not yield to them, they were strong enough to overthrow and change it.

At these words, menaces, and insults, offered to the liberty of the government and dignity of the nation, Lamartine, irritated, accepted the challenge, and closed by saying, that if France suffered her government to be overthrown by a handful of foreigners who wished to make her laws, then France would be degraded below the level of nations who have no country.

The quarrel became animated, words grew warm and faces heated. The first group tried to make the second listen to

reason, without success. Finally, the sensible men of the nation, who found themselves in a majority, interposed, calmed the factious orator, and ended by extorting apologies from him. They adjourned the next morning to the Hôtel de Ville. The minister, on dismissing them, said, that if their deputation should degenerate into a manifestation, and if they brought a single Frenchman in their train, he would no longer treat them as guests, but as disturbers of France.

## XXII.

The next morning, in fact, they presented themselves in a large column, but with a decent and calm bearing, on the place de Grève. France and Europe waited with anxiety for the reply Lamartine should make them ; for this reply would contain peace or war for the entire continent. He spoke to them in these terms, as reported by the stenographers of the *Moniteur* :

“ POLES :

“ The French republic receives as a happy augury the homage of your adhesion and gratitude for its hospitality. I have no need of telling you its sentiments for the sons of Poland. The voice of France proclaimed it to you each year, even when that voice was repressed by monarchy. The republic has a voice and gesture yet freer and more sympathizing. It will reiterate to you these fraternal sentiments ; it will prove them to you in every form compatible with the policy of justice, moderation, and peace, which it has proclaimed to all the world.

“ Yes, since your last disasters, since the sword has effaced from the map of nations these last protestations of your existence as a vestige and a germ of a nation, Poland has not only been a reproach, she has been a living remorse standing in the midst of Europe. France owes you not only wishes and tears, she owes you a moral and contingent support in return for that Polish blood you poured out during our great wars on all the battle-fields of Europe.

“ France will repay what she owes you, be assured ; and rely for it on the hearts of thirty-six millions of Frenchmen. Only leave France what belongs to her exclusively ; the hour, the moment, the form, of which Providence shall determine the choice and opportunity, to restore to you, without aggression and without spilling human blood, the place which is due to you in the sunlight and on the catalogue of nations.

"You know the principles which the provisional government has invariably adopted in its foreign policy. If you know them not, they are as follows:—

"The republic is republican, no doubt. She proclaims it loudly to the world. But the republic is neither secretly nor openly at war with any of the existing governments, so long as those nations and governments do not declare themselves at war with us. Therefore it will neither commit nor permit voluntarily any act of aggression and violence against the Germanic nations. These nations are of their own accord laboring at this moment to modify their interior system of confederation, and to establish the unity and the rights of the nations who have a place to claim in their bosom. It would require either a madman or a traitor to the liberty of the world to disturb them in this task by warlike demonstrations, and to change into hostility, susceptibility, or hate, the liberating tendency which impels their hearts towards you and towards us.

"And what a moment do you ask us to choose for this opposition to the rights of policy and freedom! Does the treaty of Pilnitz chance to militate against us? Does the coalition of absolute sovereigns collect and arm upon our frontiers and yours? No; you see it! Every courier brings us a victorious acclamation of nations, who embrace our principle and strengthen our cause precisely because we have declared that this principle was respect for rights, for the will and territorial forms of government of all nations. Are, then, the external results of the policy of the provisional government so bad that we must be forced to change them, and to present ourselves on the frontiers of our neighbors with bayonet in hand, instead of peace and liberty?

"No; this policy, at once firm and pacific, succeeds too well for the republic for her to wish to change it, before these powers shall change it themselves. Look at Belgium; look at Switzerland; look at Italy; look at the whole of southern Germany; look at Vienna; look at Berlin;—what would you have more? The very possessors of your territories are opening the road to your country, and call on you peacefully to lay the first foundations of it. Be not unjust either to God, the republic, or us. The sympathizing nation of Germany; the King of Prussia opening the gates of his citadels to you, martyrs and exiles; Cracow freed; the Grand Duchy of Posen again become Polish;—these are the arms we have given you by one month's policy.

"Do not ask us for others. The provisional government will not suffer the policy it holds to be changed by a foreign nation, however fully it commands the sympathies of our hearts. We love Poland, we love Italy, we love all oppressed nations, — but, above all, we love France, and we hold the responsibility of her destinies, and perhaps those of Europe, in our hands at this moment.

"This responsibility we will yield to none but the nation itself. Trust in it; trust in the future; trust in the past twenty days, which have already given to the cause of French democracy more ground than twenty pitched battles; and disturb neither by arms nor by an agitation which would recoil upon our common cause, the work which Providence is accomplishing, with no other arms than ideas, for the regeneration of nations and the fraternity of the human race.

"You have spoken admirably as Poles. As for us, our duty is, like you, to speak as Frenchmen. We should both adhere to our respective characters. As Poles, you should be justly impatient to fly to the soil of your fathers, and respond to the appeal which a portion of Poland, already free, makes to her generous children. We can only applaud this sentiment, and furnish you, as you desire, with the means of reëntering your country, and rejoicing at the commencement of her independence at Posen.

"As for ourselves, as Frenchmen we have not only Poland to consider, but we have the universality of European policy, which corresponds to all the horizons of France, and all the interests of liberty, of which the French republic is the support, and we hope for its most glorious and final explosion in Europe. The importance of these interests, the gravity of these resolutions, prevent the provisional government from resigning into the hands of any partial nationality, any party in a nation, however sacred be the cause of that nation, the responsibility and the liberty of its resolves.

"The policy towards Poland which was commanded to us by the monarchy is no longer the policy commanded to us by the republic. The latter has held a language to the world to which she would be faithful. She would have no power on the earth say to her: 'Your words are here; your actions there.'

"The republic must not and will not have acts in contradiction with her words; respect for her word is at this cost; she will never discredit it by failure. What did she say in her manifesto to the powers? She said it with a thought of you.



The day on which it shall appear that the providential hour has struck for the resurrection of a nationality unjustly obliterated, we will fly to your aid ; but we have justly reserved to ourselves what belongs to France alone — the recognition of the hour, the moment, the justice of the cause and the means by which it shall suit us to interfere.

“Well! thus far we have chosen and decreed these means to be pacific ; and, believe me, France and Europe will see whether those pacific measures have deceived us, or whether you have deceived yourselves.

“In thirty-one days the natural and pacific results of this system of peace and fraternity, declared to nations and governments, have been worth more to the cause of France, and the liberty of Poland herself, than ten pitched battles and torrents of human blood.

“Vienna, Berlin, Italy, Genoa, Southern Germany, and Munich, — all these constitutions, all these spontaneous, not forced, explosions in the hearts of nations, — your own frontiers finally opened to your steps through the acclamations of Germany, which is renewing herself in her forms, under the inviolability with which we surround her governments and territories ; — these are the steps the republic has taken, thanks to this system of respect for the freedom of soil and the life of men ! We will not recede a step into another system — mark it well ! The straightest road leads us to the disinterested object we have in view, better than the tortuous paths of diplomacy. Do not attempt to make us deviate from it.

“There is something which restrains and enlightens even our passions for Poland ; it is our reason. Let us listen to it in the complete liberty of our thoughts, and know that these thoughts will not separate two nations whose blood has been so often mingled on the fields of battle.

“Our solicitude for you will extend, like our hospitality, as far as our frontiers. Our eyes will follow you into your country. Carry thither the hope of regeneration which has been begun for you in Prussia herself, where your flag is floating at Berlin. France asks no other price for the asylum she has given you than the amelioration of your national destinies and the reminiscences of the French name you will bear away.

“Forget not that it is to the republic you owe the first steps you are going to take in the direction of your country.”

This discourse satisfied Europe, and bridled the audacity of the refugees.

## XXIII.

England did not wait with less solicitude for the reception Lamartine would give the Irish insurgents, who had set out from Dublin to come and demand encouragement and arms of the French republic. The old national hatred between France and England favored their cause; the party of the demagogues, the military and the Catholic party, united in France in considering the Irish insurrection the cause of liberty, the church, and France. Lamartine was not blind to the clamors these three parties would raise against him, if he dared refuse the aid of the republic to a civil war against England. He dared to do so nevertheless, resting on the loyalty of the republic. He did not consider all weapons fair to fight with against a rival but friendly power, with which he wished to strengthen the ties of liberated France.

"Citizens of Ireland," he replied to them, "if we required another proof of the pacific influence of the proclamation of the great democratic principle, — this new Christianity, bursting forth at the opportune hour, and dividing the world, as formerly, into a pagan world and a Christian world, — we should find this proof of the all-powerful action of an idea in the visits which nations, or fractions of nations, come to make here spontaneously to republican France and to her principle.

"We are not astonished to see to-day a part of Ireland; Ireland knows how much her destinies, her sufferings, and her successive advancements in religious liberty, in unity and constitutional equality with the other parties of the united kingdom, have moved in all time the heart of Europe. We said it a few days since to another deputation of your fellow-citizens; we will say it to all the children of this glorious island of Erin, which, by the natural genius of its inhabitants as well as the vicissitudes of its history, is at once the poetry and heroism of the nations of the north.

"Understand, then, clearly, that you will find in France, under the republic, all the sentiments you bring it. Tell your fellow-citizens that the name of Ireland and the name of liberty courageously defended against privilege, is the same name for every French citizen. Tell them that this reciprocity which they invoke, this hospitality they remember, the republic will always be proud to remember and practise toward the Irish. Tell them, above all, that the French republic is not and will not be an aristocratic republic, where liberty is a mask for privilege,

but a republic embracing the entire people in the same rights and the same blessings.

"As for other encouragement, it would not be fitting for us to give, or you to receive it. I have already said it with regard to Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, and Italy. I repeat it with regard to every nation which has domestic questions to settle with itself or with its government. When our blood does not run in the veins of a people, we are not permitted to employ our intervention or our hands in its affairs. We belong to no party, in Ireland or elsewhere, but to the party of justice, liberty, and the happiness of nations. No other part would be acceptable to us, in time of peace, in the interests and passions of foreign nations. France would reserve herself free for all rights.

"We are at peace, and we desire to remain in sound relations of equality, not with such or such a party in Great Britain, but with the whole of Great Britain. We believe this peace useful and honorable, not only to Great Britain and the French republic, but the whole human race. We will commit no act, we will utter no word, we will give forth no insinuation, in contradiction to the principles of the mutual inviolability of nations which we have proclaimed, and the fruits of which the continent already reaps. The fallen monarchy had treaties and diplomatic agents. We have nations in the place of diplomats, and sympathies for treaties. We should be insane to change such a noonday policy for dark and partial alliances with parties, even legitimate ones, in the countries which surround us. We have not the means either of judging or preferring some to others. In declaring us friends of these, we should declare us enemies of those. We would not be the enemies of any of your fellow-citizens. On the contrary, we would destroy, by the loyalty of our republican language, the prepossessions and prejudices which have existed between our neighbors and ourselves.

"This conduct is suggested to us, however painful it may appear to you, by the right of nations as well as by our historical recollections.

"Do you know what most irritated and severed France and England during the last republic? It was civil war, recognized, paid and employed, by Mr. Pitt, in a part of our territory. It was the encouragement and arms given to Frenchmen as heroic as you, in La Vendée, but Frenchmen fighting against other Frenchmen. It was not a loyal war; it was royalist propa-

gandism waged with French blood against the republic. This conduct is not yet, in spite of our efforts, entirely effaced from the memory of the nation.

"Well, we shall never renew this cause of resentment between Great Britain and ourselves by imitating it. We gratefully receive testimonies of friendship from the different nationalities which form the great British union! We pray that justice may establish and bind up the unity of nations, that equality may more and more become its basis; but while, with you, with her, and with all, proclaiming the holy dogma of fraternity, we will only perform acts as fraternal as our principles and sentiments."

Cries of "Long live the republic!" and "Long live Lamar-tine!" from the immense multitude that surrounded the Irish, welcomed these words. These shouts showed them that the refusal of the minister on these grounds was even more popular than their cause, and they did not persist. They feigned to be satisfied with this language. The next morning their leaders dined, as private individuals, with the minister, and made no reference to the session of the preceding evening.



## BOOK XIII

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### I.

MEANWHILE, the manifesto of France to foreign nations and governments produced its results upon the continent. The nations, tranquillized on the subject of the ambition of the republic, abandoned themselves to the natural direction of their inclination to liberty. The reverberation of the Revolution of Paris, thus interpreted, shook the world more than the cannons of Marengo or Austerlitz.

The first and most unexpected reverberation was felt at Vienna, on the 14th of March. Prince Metternich, whose government for a long time had only been an obsequious homage to the wishes of the nobility, and the superstitions of three women, who surrounded an always childish emperor, was surprised by the event. Unforeseen and irresistible insurrection swept away the priesthood, the court, the aristocracy, and the government. The imperial family abandoned Vienna to revolution. The prince abandoned monarchy itself, and fled into the Tyrol.

Berlin responded to Vienna on the 18th of March. The king, at the head of his troops, resisted and triumphed the first day. Astonished at his victory, less embarrassed in conquering than in governing, he gave up his sword to the vanquished people. The Poles, coming out of the prisons of Berlin, found themselves masters of the monarchy. They impelled the people to a republic. The king, at the advice of the only minister who preserved his coolness, anticipated this movement by a Machiavellian flattery of the German spirit. Ambitious perforce, this minister suddenly made the king adopt the colors of German unity, the passion of the secondary nations of Germany. Frederic William thus regained revolutionary popularity in Germany at the very moment when he was risking the loss of his own crown.

## II.

A second movement, yet more democratic than the first, agitated Vienna a few days afterwards. Again it was the Poles, united with the students, who achieved it. The cry of this third revolution was the republic. It discarded the constitution granted by the emperor on the 16th of March, and appealed to a constituent assembly by universal suffrage. Hungary, a nation of twenty millions of men, on whom the Austrian yoke weighed heavily, profited by the revolution at Vienna to attempt its emancipation and erect itself into an independent government. This emancipation, complicated by a civil war of races between the Croats and Hungarians, aroused the armed populations. Sometimes rolled back, sometimes threatening Austria, this war yet holds the fate of Hungarian independence and Austrian revolution in suspense.

Beyond the Alps, Lombardy felt that the hour of her emancipation, sounded at Paris, and repeated at Vienna on the 14th of March, had arrived. Milan, her capital, rose on the 20th of March, and drove the Austrians far from her walls.

Venice imitated her, and, tempered anew in servitude, her people recovered their ancient heroism, rendered dormant by her former prosperity.

At the beginning of April, the duchies of Parma and Modena expelled their government, a vice-royalty of Austria. These duchies proclaimed the republic provisionally, while waiting the fortune of arms to decide the unity of northern Italy.

Tuscany, anticipated in her desires by a popular and liberal prince, assumed a constitution. Rome, initiated in liberty and urged to independence by a Pope more rash than politic, was roused to impatience, and by turns excited and restrained by him.

Naples had extorted a constitution from her king. The army remained with the king, and opposed, under his direction, republican attempts. Sicily proclaimed her independence, and shed her blood to seal it.

Finally, Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia, imitating the King of Prussia, raised the standard of Italian independence at the head of a hundred thousand men. The paid ally, almost the vassal, of Austrian policy, he profited by the reverses of Austria to march upon Lombardy. Drawn on by his former ambition, impelled by his people, retained by his illib-

eral principles, blamed by his court and clergy, and applauded and menaced by republicans, he threw himself, without foresight or logic, into an abyss of contradictions, faults and difficulties. He thought to escape the republic by conquest. He found only exile and the ruin of his country. A good soldier, a bad leader, an inconsistent man,—by turns a revolutionary and proscriptive prince, he was born to be the passive and unfortunate instrument of ruling parties. He redeemed, by his personal heroism, the imperfections of his intelligence and his character. History will pity and honor him.

### III.

Each of the events thus grouped together, bursting singly upon Paris, was echoed by immense acclamations of joy. The greatest danger to the republic was the fear of a coalition against her. Fear is cruel. It awakens the cry of treason. It builds scaffolds. It justifies dictatorships. It gives the government to extreme parties. Lamartine, above all things, feared these coalition panics, which might seize upon France, and drive her to convulsions and bloodshed. The successive throes of Europe, the dethronements, the emancipation of nations, which he had predicted to his colleagues and the public, weekly fortified his pacific system. The horizon opened on all sides. The democracy fraternized, from the Danube to the Tiber. The air entered with serenity and security into the public mind of Paris. Fear was dissipated in the darkest hearts. The most reckless partisans of aggression around the government wanted a pretext. Even the clubs shouted the benefits of peace. The confidential agents which the minister of foreign affairs had sent to all the capitals of Europe announced to him by all the couriers the popular success of his diplomacy; inoffensive to nations, irreproachable to governments, all-powerful in its results.

All discussion on foreign affairs had ended, even in the midst of the government. The minister, alone and uncontradicted, directed the destiny of our policy. Fortune justified him. He only entered the ministerial council to bring new auguries or new triumphs for the republic. His colleagues shared his rejoicing. The sad anxieties of the interior were for a few moments banished from their hearts by the assuring prospects without.

"Every time a courier reaches me," said he to the govern-

ment, "and I come here to converse with you on our foreign affairs, I bring you a fragment of Europe." Europe was, in fact, crumbling under the recoil of the Parisian republic, because the republic had been wise enough not to employ violence against Europe.

The minister did not deny that, after this movement of decomposition, Europe would have a violent movement for the reconstruction of the old monarchical order. He neither believed nor desired that the ill-prepared people should pass to a republic at one bound. It was enough for France that the spirit of the nations by whom she was immediately surrounded should be introduced by constitutional institutions into their own governments, as an element of fraternity, consolidation and peace with France. Such was his true idea.

#### IV.

Thus his foreign agents were all, without exception, formally instructed not to enter into any plots against governments, not to mix themselves up with any republican movement, not to push any nation to insurrection, or any prince to war. He did not wish to engage the republic, by any moral complicity whatever, in causes or fortunes which she might have to disavow at a later period. He carried these scruples to the point of refusing to explain himself, by any sign of blame or encouragement, when King Charles Albert notified him of his declaration of war against Austria. It was impossible for the Marquis of Brignole, the ambassador of this sovereign, whom Lamartine saw daily, to find out whether the French government approved or disapproved of this declaration of war. To approve, was to assume a tacit engagement to follow its contingencies and make indirect war on Austria; to blame it, was to discourage an attempt at Italian independence by Italy herself. He was silent, and confined himself to pressing the formation of the army of the Alps; for whether it succeeded or failed, the war of Piedmont on Austria must bring the French army across the Alps, either to act or negotiate, with arms in their hands.

This plan, which embraced the whole foreign policy of Lamartine in Italy, was broken up, after the events of June, by the ministry which succeeded him. He knows neither the necessities nor the motives of the second government of the republic. He does not judge — he relates.



## V.

As for Germany, the provisional government had but one plan, — a respectful and benevolent neutrality towards all the Germanic powers; the friendship of Germany reconquered, at all cost, by the abnegation of all conquest and intermeddling with her affairs; an army of two hundred thousand men to cover the Rhine in six weeks, and cross it, as a disinterested auxiliary, at the call of the Roman people, if Germany should summon it against foreign oppression.

The whole French policy, German, Hungarian, and Polish, was confined to these limits. Nothing has changed on this side, but we have lost the opportunity for an Italian league. Mediation could have no effect except on the other side of the Alps. The French democracy, moreover, can only charge itself with these abortions of the ideas of the provisional government on Italy. It was, doubtless, the demagogical and socialist risings of June which fettered the army of the Alps, under the government of General Cavaignac, and, as a fatal consequence, produced the odious war of France against Rome. But France and Italy will not suffer themselves to be disunited by the mistakes of governments. They have nature in the place of a treaty.

## VI.

Such was the external situation of France at the beginning of April. England, reclaimed by the wise moderation of the government to feeling, respect, and admiration for a democracy which restrained at once anarchy and war, had no pretext for bitterness or hostility. The new French republic was popular in London.

One man alone, through the whole of Great Britain, traced it in his words and writings. This was Lord Brougham, an eminent but capricious and inconsistent man. A universal but superficial writer, an orator of vigor but not of genius, himself an offspring of democracy, Lord Brougham affected the posthumous character of Burke, in opposition to a republic which had neither the blood of a queen nor the blood of a single citizen upon its hands. His sarcasms recoiled upon himself, for Lord Brougham, in imitation of Anarcharsis Klotz, had solicited of the provisional government the title of citizen of the republic.

Parliament and Lord Palmerston showed themselves pene-

trated with a feeling for the inviolability of nations, in their internal transformations. They, as well as Lord Normanby, the British ambassador at Paris, showed less political susceptibility on certain acts and words of the republic, than they would have shown perhaps to a firmly-seated monarchical government. It was apparent that they reckoned the difficult circumstances against which the provisional government struggled for the maintenance of peace. They allowed consideration and time for the founding and characterization of the French policy. In that, the government of Lord Palmerston deserved well of humanity. Democracies are distrustful. Lamartine had trouble enough to disperse the remains of old anti-British prejudices. Impatience on the part of Lord Palmerston would have compromised everything. It was the period of his political life when he was most a statesman, because he was forbearing and philosophical.

## VII.

The rising of Lombardy and the first advantages of Charles Albert, the disturbances in Bohemia, the independence of Hungary, the convocation of the Diet of Frankfort to establish in the Germanic federation the metaphysical principle of German unity, had so dismembered and disconcerted Austria, that it officiously made England and France the first overtures of concession in Italy, of a nature to satisfy at once Sardinia, France, England, and the independence of the north of Italy.

An ill-informed statesman, M. Thiers, in repudiating, later, in the tribune, the foreign policy of the provisional government, has said that the government declined these propositions. The reverse is true. Lamartine was too much the friend of peace and Italy to decline propositions which would, in a large measure, insure peace and independence. The envoys of Austria officiously made it a judge of the offers which the emperor was disposed to make to Sardinia. The question was of the abandonment of Lombardy and the duchies of Parma, and a constitution given to Venice, under an independent vice-royalty of the house of Austria. Lamartine did not hesitate to acknowledge that these propositions would largely satisfy the legitimate ambitions of liberation in Italy, and encourage the Austrian cabinet to negotiations on these bases. Twice these overtures were made to him semi-officially, and twice he held the same language. He would

have been neither statesman nor patriot, if he had not repelled them. For the conclusion of such an arrangement permitted the republic to restore one of its frontiers, violated, after the Hundred Days, by the second treaty of 1815; and he thought of it at a distance.

### VIII.

At home, France calmly meditated upon the approaching general elections. It was canvassing, without prejudice or exclusion, its candidacies. The streets of Paris alone were in agitation. A quiet but indolent populace of two or three hundred thousand souls awaited its fate from the National Assembly. No faith could be felt in a definitive republic until after the representation of the country should have been adopted. Confidence and credit, the motives of labor, would revive only under a constituted government. Till then, everything floated in the unknown.

The tendencies of the dictatorial government were equivocal in the eyes of the population. Contradictory symptoms were perceived. It was believed that violent ruptures had taken place between the members. The immense majority of the nation adhered to moderate men, personified under a few names. The dreaded and turbulent minority of Paris and of the clubs of the departments adhered to other names. The hotel of the ministry of foreign affairs and the hotel of the ministry of the interior were, it was said, the head-quarters of two opinions, which were destined ere long to engage in armed conflict. This notion was so widely spread among the people, that several hundreds of armed citizens, from the faubourgs or the interior of Paris, came sometimes of themselves, and without Lamartine's being aware of it, to pass the night under the court-yard gates and on the sidewalks of the streets adjacent to his dwelling, in order to guard against his being surprised and forcibly carried off. The minister of the interior, on his side, had, it was said, his adherents and his forces; the club of Barbès, the disciples of Louis Blanc and of Albert, and the leaders of a kind of association called the Club of Clubs, which centralized the democratic agitation, there assembled. These members of the Club of Clubs came two or three times as a deputation to the ministry of foreign affairs. Lamartine spoke to them frankly, encouraging them to confide in the National Assembly. He told them distinctly that he would listen to no proposition to prolong the dictatorship, that he had devoted

himself on the 24th of February to save his country from anarchy, and to offer France, by the republic, a regular government; but that when once the sovereignty of the people should be recovered in the National Assembly, no seduction or violence should force from him an insurrectional government. These men appeared ardent, but well-intentioned.

A few disorders, without importance, but which might possibly degenerate into scandals and collisions, annoyed, in the early part of spring, the peaceable inhabitants of Paris. The cause of these disorders was only the idleness of the workmen of Paris, and the pretext was only the civic rejoicings. Liberty-trees were planted on all the squares and before all the monuments of Paris. Bands of vagabonds and children went to purchase young poplars in the neighboring villages, brought them on their shoulders, planted them arbitrarily in such or such a place, fired off muskets, uttered shouts, sometimes importuned the clergy in order to summon it to bless their tree, and levied on the adjacent houses light subsidies, voluntary, but disagreeable, in order to sprinkle the roots with wine. The minister of war, M. Arago, prohibited these groups, by armed force, from the court of the ministry of marine. Caussidière did not venture to treat these tumults roughly, for fear they should be increased in attempting to repress them. These demonstrations degenerated by the 16th of April into a kind of noisy mendicancy, which could no longer be tolerated. But the repressive force was still insufficiently numerous to engage it imprudently against these seditions of the indigence and gayety of a people without bread.

### IX.

Some other symptoms of more alarming seditions two or three times saddened the government.

A column of people, excited by German refugees, formed, on occasion of an Austrian defeat, in order to go and insult the ambassador of that power. Lamartine, informed of it, having no other repressive force at hand, trusted to the sole force of reason upon the people. He went out alone, and, like a sentinel before the gate of the ambassador, awaited for two hours the seditious gathering. Meanwhile, certain skilful and persuasive agents whom he had sent decided the leaders of the mob to renounce this shameful attack on the rights of nations. They took another route, repaired to the Champ-de-



Mars, and thence to the ministry of the interior. The minister harangued them with eloquence and firmness. He aimed especially in this discourse to reinstate the army in the heart of the people of Paris, and to prepare for the return of the troops to the capital.

This return, patiently and prudently managed, was the principal thought of M. Arago and of the majority of government. But it could be justified only on the desire of the National Guard itself. The premature reëntance of the army, before the susceptibilities of the people were extinct, would be the inevitable signal of a shock from which a second civil war would arise. An eager desire for the army began to be felt. The socialist and demagogue party alone sowed alarm and prepared sedition at each announcement of the return of our soldiers.

## X.

The nearer the elections — fixed at first for the beginning of April — approached, the more the parties which dreaded being dispossessed of the dictatorship shuddered and threatened at Paris. The clubs, although influenced by the correspondence which Lamartine held with their principal prompters, revolted even against their own chiefs, in the name alone of the sovereign assembly that was coming to shut the mouths of all these volcanoes. Violent proposals, anticipated seditions, protestations of a design of continuing armed to watch over the representatives, in order to constrain them, — oaths required of candidates for the grades of officer in the National Guard, to march against the representatives themselves, if they should disavow or betray the republic, — attested the repugnance of the revolution to recognize any other sovereignty than that of Paris. It appeared evident that Paris would not surrender without concussion the absolute and dictatorial power with which the revolution had invested it.

Even in the bosom of the government, opinions were divided, not upon the right of evoking the definitive sovereignty of the nation, but with respect to fixing the date for the meeting of the Assembly at Paris. The majority wished to hasten forward the day of the elections as much as possible; the minority seemed to hesitate about fixing it. Petitions from the workmen and delegates of the Luxembourg incessantly, under divers pretexts, demanded the postponement of the elections. Sometimes they were not sufficiently qualified for this exercise, new for them, of the

rights of citizens ; sometimes they had not the time requisite to discuss their candidates ; sometimes their inexperience of the electoral right needed instruction in preparatory meetings. Such pretexts, as vain as they were diversified, impeached the real motives of this resistance, concealed under the sophistries of postponement.

On the other side, the minister of the interior was waiting for complete reports from his agents in the departments, in order to resolve upon a definitive decision in the government council. These reports arrived only one by one ; some of the agents sowed alarm in their reports. The least freedom of opinion manifested in their provinces, and the signs of independence or of discontent, often very legitimate, against the omnipotence of their administration, they called reaction against government. The men who at Paris aspired to prolong the dictatorship indefinitely armed themselves with these reports, to cry treason against those who desired to restore to the nation a power thus far fortunate and mild, but which might change into tyranny and anarchy if it were perpetuated. Suspicions were awakened on all sides.

The partisans of a deferred election suspected their opponents of conspiring with future restorations, and of preparing the shortest ways to the reestablishment of the state and men of the old monarchies. The partisans of an immediate election saw in those of the opposite party ambitious men and the upstarts of liberty, trembling at being deprived of an unhopèd-for power, which fortune had placed in their hands, and ready to declare themselves the sole guardians of the republic, in order to rule and, perhaps, rend asunder the country, in its name.

In fine, the chiefs of the socialist sects and the leaders of the industrial class feared to see their tribunes overthrown, and their empire destroyed, by the approach of the provinces to Paris. This common aversion to the establishment of the national power appeared to draw together the socialists and conventionalists, two parties which were to be united at a later period, but which had hated each other up to this moment.

The deliberations of the government itself felt the influence of these outward parties, both of whose spirits had forced an entrance there. These deliberations became rare, disturbed, and short, — often irritated. The majority had decided to make this question the test of the union or dismemberment of the government. A final day was appointed to take a last resolution on this subject. The session was long, but without con-

vulsion. M. Ledru Rollin read an extract from the report of his commissioners. He proved, by evidence from dates, and the nature of the preparatory operations to be accomplished, that the time necessary for the completion of these operations required seven or eight days beyond the term appointed by the first decree. They unanimously agreed that it was necessary, for the interest of the safety of the National Assembly, to wait until the National Guard of Paris should be organized, equipped, and armed, in order that this civic force might surround the representative body of France with security and respect. A certain number of days were required for this renovated National Guard to be under arms. They appointed the twenty-seventh of April, Easter day, for the general elections, and the fourth of May for the opening of the National Assembly.

This resolution, loyally taken, with common accord, did much to dissipate the doubts in minds prejudiced against each other, and to calm the secret irritations which were brooding in their hearts. The majority of the government saw that the minority was confounded with it, and threw themselves, with less confidence perhaps, but with equal sincerity, upon the country. From this day the men who had been alienated became reconciled. The majority had obtained what it desired, since the dictatorship was loyally abjured by all parties.

Some differences, however, were still manifested, in words and acts, relative to the elections. A circular of the minister of the interior was discussed. Agreeing in spirit, they came to an accommodation respecting the terms. A more revolutionary measure was perseveringly demanded, not by M. Ledru Rollin, but by the delegates of the Luxembourg, and the clubs of the industrial workmen of Paris. This measure consisted in granting to these assemblies the power of sending into each department two or three emissaries, chosen from the different classes of the workmen of the capital, and whose mission should be paid, under the title of supplies of the republic, from the funds of the minister of the interior. This supply would amount to the sum of a hundred, or a hundred and twenty thousand francs. M. Ledru Rollin refused to take, upon his sole responsibility, the employment of so large a sum, unless he was protected by the formal consent of the council. The council authorized the measure and the expense. It recommended to the minister to watch over the choice of his emissaries; and only to appoint honest, honorable, and moderate men, models, and not agitators, and to limit their mission to the

publication of sound republican doctrines and technical information as to the exercise of their electoral rights. All intervention, even confidential, of those agents, in the name of the government, in the elections, was forbidden. On these conditions the measure was authorized. It was justified even in the minds of those who were opposed to it, and who foresaw its inconveniences, by the necessity of inducing the two hundred thousand workmen of Paris to accept voluntarily the time assigned for the elections. It was a concession to the emergency, a sacrifice to concord. An insurrection of two hundred thousand workmen of Paris, against the advanced date of the elections, would have cost more gold and more blood. Such was the spirit of the concession. It was a fault. The minister of foreign affairs felt this in consenting to it. Some of those men scandalized public opinion and morality by acts and by relations which tarnished their missions. But their mission, demanded by some, tolerated by others, recognized as necessary by all, had no other motive, no other object; although unfortunate in the selections, this measure contributed powerfully to render the elections acceptable, and to hasten them.

## XI.

At this period Lamartine, foreseeing inevitable disturbances and military necessities after the meeting of the National Assembly, secretly and busily employed himself with a more active organization of the army, bringing it nearer to Paris, and conferring the command of it upon a firm, popular, and republican general. In order to restore the popularity of the army, it was requisite that the definitive chief who should be appointed to it should be one whose military character was agreeable to the soldiery, and whose political character was above all suspicion of treason to the republic.

M. Arago, at once minister of war and minister of the navy, was equal to these two great administrations, by the activity and by the extent of his intelligence. His name had thus far served to extinguish the rivalries which might have risen among the general officers, easily jealous of the preference that the government might have given to one over the others. A citizen name neutralized the command of the army. M. Arago had been respected by military men, rather as a law than as a minister. His impartial energy had reestablished and maintained discipline. The army was recruited and



obeyed as well as at any other epoch of our history. But the Assembly was approaching. M. Arago would reënter, perhaps, the ranks of the representatives. The Assembly would have need of force at Paris, and around Paris; it would need a minister who could both organize and combat.

Lamartine indulged in no illusion with reference to the future. He knew from history that a government newly-born has for several years to sustain assaults, and that the cradle of this government, be it a republic or monarchy, needs to be overshadowed by bayonets. Democracy, in particular, wishes to be strong, and so much the stronger in proportion as it is the nearer demagogism. All the crimes of anarchy come from feebleness. Socialism and pauperism, dangers peculiar to a civilization too industrial, rendered more evident for all eyes the necessity of vigorously arming the republic. For this purpose, Lamartine had been for a long time maturing three measures. The first was an army, powerfully organized, and disposed over the territory in three great bodies, each serving as the support of the other, and being able, by their wide and rapid evolutions, not only to suppress, here or there, this or that sedition, but to manœuvre on a large scale, throughout the whole extent of the French territory, upon bases previously selected, as in the great civil wars of Rome. Three generals must command these three bodies. The one at Paris and in the line extending immediately from Paris, the other at Bourges and in the neighboring provinces, the third from Lyons to Marseilles.

The second measure was the formation of a reserve of three hundred battalions of the departments, composed of the Guard Mobile, armed, disciplined, equipped, exercised and organized, but remaining at their homes, and only going out at the call of the council of the department, of the prefect, or of the government, on the sudden outbreak of tumult or civil war. It was the anti-social and anti-anarchical confederation, previously instituted and made active, in the hands of the departments. In case of defeat at Paris, social order would gain, independently of the army, three hundred thousand defenders, and could stifle the sedition in eight days, under the walls of Paris. Instead of the revolutionary army of 1793, it was the republican army of 1848, everywhere protecting order, property, and the lives of the citizens, against terrors, and the dismemberment of the empire. In case of foreign war, these three hundred battalions would form a second line upon our

frontiers and in our fortresses, and would leave the rest of the army free.

Lastly, his third measure was to give to the republic and the National Assembly a minister of war, at once a soldier and a republican, who would make the republic loved by the army, and who would cause the army to be received without distrust by the republic.

The first of these measures was already half accomplished by M. Arago and the government. The army was in the way of being soon brought up to five hundred thousand men.

The creation of three hundred battalions of the Guard Mobile of the departments had been already many times mentioned by Lamartine to the council, in anticipation of the events of foreign war. Lamartine was not ignorant that this measure, revealed in its true light, would have given umbrage to the radical party, which evidently tended to suppress the army, especially in Paris, and to substitute for it the omnipotence of the socialist organization, of the clubs and workmen; an organization, directed by the sectarian chiefs, against the merchants, property, and the bourgeoisie.

He adjourned then, many times, his formal proposition. He spoke of it in private to several of his colleagues. He instilled into them this idea, and prepared them to propose it themselves to the government.

M. Flocon, who had just entered into active life, at the end of a long illness, and who had a quick perception of everything which related to the power of the country, undertook to bring forward, under the form of an urgent and formal proposition, this measure, of which he approved in common with the minister of foreign affairs. The well-trying patriotism of this young member of the government, and the ascendancy of his energy over the radical party, disconcerted their objections. Lamartine supported him, as if this idea had been a sudden revelation of patriotism in danger. The decree was carried with unanimity. Lamartine, on returning to his house, said to his friends: "If the National Assembly executes, with activity, my decree for three hundred thousand men, civil war is henceforth impossible, and society cannot be disturbed longer than ten days." But to execute this decree, there was need of a minister. He believed he had found one in General Cavaignac.

## XII.

General Cavaignac, the son of a man of revolutionary and conventionalist renown, was the brother of one of the young precursors of the republic, another Carrel, whose character, talent, and memory, had been raised to the sanctity of a religion in the party of active democracy. This name was so popular among those who survived him, that it even reflected upon his brother a portion of this consideration. The second Cavaignac served in Africa; the provisional government, at its first session at the Hôtel de Ville, had nominated him governor-general. Afterwards the government had recalled him to Paris, by offering him the ministry of war. The general had replied to the government in somewhat lofty terms. He had made conditions so hard that the government were wounded at this resistance to their first advance, and had renounced the services of this general in Paris.

Affairs were in this position, when Lamartine, always thinking of strengthening the National Assembly by a military chief given to the army, opened by chance a journal, and read there a clear profession of faith, short and republican, signed Cavaignac. It was a letter of the young general to the electors of his department, who had offered to make him their candidate for the National Assembly.

This letter expressed with precision, and with remarkable boldness and honor, all the republicanism of order, liberty, and morality, in a manner after the heart of Lamartine. He was much pleased with its spirit. He resolved to make every exertion to gain this character, this opinion, and this sword, for the Assembly and the government. He was not acquainted with the general or his family. He learned that M. Flocon was on friendly terms with the mother of the general. He prayed his young colleague to introduce him to this woman, very eminent, they said, for her affection, spirit, and patriotism. He did not conceal from M. Flocon the object of the interview which he solicited with Madame Cavaignac. M. Flocon partook the desire of the minister of foreign affairs to give a military and republican chief to the army. But he feared that the mother of the two Cavaignacs, already in mourning for the first of her sons, would be unwilling to contribute to compromise the life of the second, by recalling him, at a stormy period and for perilous duties, from a peaceful colony, and from a climate necessary for the reëstablishment of his health.

Madame Cavaignac consented, nevertheless, to receive the minister of foreign affairs. Lamartine found in a remote quarter, and in a modest apartment, furnished with all the marks of widowhood, retirement, and piety, a woman in mourning, on whose deeply expressive countenance sensibility and power contended over grave and resigned features. He understood at a glance why the republicans had called this woman the mother of the Gracchi. She had, in fact, in her elevation, in her simplicity, and in her accent, something antique, yet Christian. Freemen might be reared beneath that aspect.

Her conversation did not belie this exterior. Lamartine had rarely met her like, if it were not among some celebrated women of the heroic stocks of Rome or Florence. The tenderness of a mother, the energy of a citizen, sounded in the masculine tone of her voice. He broached the subject of the interview. He spoke to Madame Cavaignac of the dangers of the republic, if it should become feeble or exaggerated at the outset; of the necessity of surrounding it with honorable and moderate force, to save it from the convulsions of feeble and spasmodic governments; of the sacrifices which the foundation of free and democratic order demanded from every one, and even from mothers; of the strong desire which he had to see the army approach Paris under the republican guarantee of the name of her son. Madame Cavaignac resisted; she was melted, not on her own account, but for liberty; she finally allowed herself to yield. "You demand of me the greatest of sacrifices," said she to Lamartine; "but you have demanded it of me in the name of the most absolute of duties. I will grant it to you. I consent to communicate your desires to my son. I will write to him of our conversation; I will bring you his reply."

Some days afterwards the general himself replied to Lamartine. His answer was worthy of the son of such a mother, — without eagerness, as without weakness. It was agreed that the general should demand a leave of absence, and that he should return to France. From this day the three principal designs of Lamartine, to provide against foreign war, against civil war, and against anarchy at Paris at the opening of the session of the National Assembly, appeared to him accomplished. He advanced with more confidence towards the unknown future.



## XIII.

But this unknown future, for several wees, was yet full of problems and conspiracies.

The nearer the end of the dictatorship approached, the more were the extreme parties, who felt their rule vanishing away, bent upon disputing it with the nation. They shuddered at the very name of the National Assembly. They declared aloud, in their conventicles and clubs, sometimes, that they would overthrow the majority of the government before the day of the elections; sometimes, that they would not suffer the National Assembly to enter Paris, but as a suspected representation, and held captive in the midst of a hedge of two hundred thousand destitute men, whose decrees of the people it would have to publish, or be subjected to their violence.

Sinister and atrocious words escaped, like the involuntary explosions of the feeling of revolt which resounded in the hearts of certain men. The discourses of the clubs and of the delegates at the Luxembourg became more bitter and significant. Secret reports revealed to the government nocturnal assemblies, where the chiefs of the principal factions, opposed to the opening of the Assembly, sought either to anticipate that day by a certain movement, or to remain so strongly armed in Paris by the revolutionary forces, that the National Assembly would only be their sport. The members of the majority of the government were pointed out to the suspicion and rage of a portion of the people. The journals that accused them were widely disseminated. Placards, in which they were denounced to the public indignation, drafted by the German demagogues, issued at night from suspected presses, and inflamed the public mind against men decided to restore the republic to the country. Some of these placards, specially directed against Lamartine, were posted up, without the knowledge of his colleagues, by emissaries, who abused their names and their protection. Witnesses and confidants, indignant at these dangers, in which they believed they saw conspiracies, came by night to reveal them to Lamartine. Lamartine did not believe them. He was convinced of the loyalty of his adversaries. They might fight, but could not betray.

But there were two distinct camps in the government. Around these two camps were grouped different tendencies, opposite systems of the republic; men hostile, suspicious, and violent. These men could direct the will of the chiefs, embitt-

ter them one against the other, sow distrust among them, and then lay snares for them, and could use their standard and their name to recruit factions, and afterwards lead these factions to extremities.

The majority of the government was constantly beset with alarming reports respecting the conspiracies which were plotting, they said, against their safety. They frequently changed the place of the meeting of the council. They were on their guard against surprises. They sometimes assembled secretly two or three hundred armed men in the neighborhood of the ministry of finance, or of the Luxembourg, to prevent a surprise. All parties were suspected and watched.

Lamartine was informed by the spontaneous communications of men whose position would permit them to know all, and by his secret police over strangers, that irresolute designs against him were conflicting in the minds of the principal chiefs of the factions of the clubs. Fanatical demagogues spoke aloud of putting him out of the way. He received every day from Paris and the departments written menaces of assassination. The very police of Caussidière transmitted to him these notices. He trusted himself to his destiny. He had devoted himself wholly, even to death, on the 24th of February, in order to give its true construction to the revolution, to preserve it pure from crime and blood, and to guide it, without internal catastrophe and without foreign war, over the interregnum which might swallow up his country. He saw the shore. He was sure that his death would be the signal of the insurrection of a vast majority of the people of Paris and the unanimity of the departments, and that it would assure the triumph of the National Assembly over the dictators. This certainty rendered him happy and serene. He did not take any precaution, although he knew that evil designs watched at his very door. He went out at every hour of the night and day, alone and on foot, without other arms than a pair of pistols under his dress. His popularity watched over him, without his being aware of it.

It increased to such a degree at that time through all France and throughout Europe, that he received as many as *three hundred letters* a day, and that all the departments asked him if he would represent them. The people, who feel always the need of personifying an instinct in a man, then personified in him the instinct of threatened and saved society. He was the man for the common safety. Many of his colleagues deserved it as much as he; but popularity has its favorites.

He had too much knowledge of history to believe in the continuance of this fanaticism for his name. He sought to moderate it, rather than inflame it. He designedly kept himself obscure before the people and before his colleagues. He foresaw the approaching day when this popularity would demand of him things which he believed contrary to the true interests of the republic. He did not wish that one man should be more popular than the representative body of the nation. Resolved beforehand to abdicate the public favor, it was not prudent to excite it to delirium. He sometimes astonished his friends by the change of public opinion with regard to himself which he predicted.

Often, on returning to his house, after days or nights of contest, preceded or followed by acclamations, which arose upon his steps, and which echoed from the boulevards even to the interior of his apartments, he said to his wife and secretaries: "You see what efforts the National Assembly and the restoration of regular power to the nation have cost me. Ah! well, when the nation shall have again found its own empire, and when the National Assembly shall be here, this people, who have been saved, will withdraw from me, and, perhaps, will accuse me as having conspired against the Assembly — my single object!"

They smiled with incredulity at these words, but Lamartine knew the injustice and ignorance of the people. If they were just and intelligent, there would be no virtue in serving them.

Everything indicated, at that time, a final and desperate attempt of the parties opposed to the opening of the Assembly.

#### XIV.

The fourteenth of April was drawing near. The election would take place on the twenty-seventh. The National Guard of Paris, reorganized, but not yet reunited, was, as to the spirit which would animate it, a problem. From day to day the government, still completely disarmed, might have to appeal to it. Would it rise at its command? Would it merge into one and the same voice? Would it divide itself into two armies, — like the people, into two classes? Would it be an element of civil war, or an unanimous element of strength and peace? No one could yet know, but by conjecture. All would depend upon the direction, more or less politic, which the government should know how to impress upon it. The ultra parties would try

everything to prevent the calling out of the National Guards, and to subdue the government, before Paris should be on foot to defend the Assembly. These parties felt it, and they suffered it to be readily foreseen by the government.

For some days since, the discussions of the council had become bitter and animated. Strong differences of opinion were betrayed between the majority and minority. The minister of the interior, occupied with the preparations for the elections, came very rarely to the council, and staid but a short time. Louis Blanc and Albert, avowed patrons of the delegates of the Luxembourg, and the thirty or forty thousand workmen who composed their army, spoke of menacing discontents and imperious demands, in the name of this part of the people. They did not justify them, but expressed them in form of notices to the government.

They appeared to have been informed by these men, and by their personal relations with the clubs and other centres of action, of some great popular movement, of a nature to impose on the majority the extreme wishes and the last terms of the multitude.

At the session of the fourteenth of April, which was prolonged deep into the night, the indications appeared more significant; and the two chiefs of the Luxembourg avowed, with a grief mingled with reproaches, that a vast demonstration, like that of the seventeenth of March, but more decided, in order to obtain the adjournment of the elections and the satisfaction of other grievances, would take place on the day after to-morrow, Sunday, the sixteenth of April.

The government was more indignant than astonished. Enough rumors, collected by different members of the majority, from all sides of the horizon, had announced, for some days past, an attempt of the ultra parties to clear the provisional government of the principal members of the majority, and to change the minority into a majority by the junction of a certain number of the chiefs of the clubs and factions. They spoke of a committee of public safety, who would merge the dictatorship into the sovereignty of a mob of a single portion of the people; who would destroy the decree for the elections; who would concentrate the government in the capital; who would exercise it for some time before giving it up; and who would convoke a convention, after having purified the elections.

Lamartine feigned to have learned this project of a demonstration for the first time from the lips of his two colleagues.



He did not suspect them of participating in it; still less did he suspect the minister of the interior; but he thought that Albert, Louis Blanc, and the men of the minority of the government, might have over the organizers of this movement an influence and an authority which he had not himself over this party of the revolution. He consequently adjured them, with a sincere grief, but with an energy of language which he purposely exaggerated, to employ all their moral influence over that portion of the people which they controlled, to prevent a demonstration so untimely, so odious to the departments, so alarming for the peace of Paris, and so fatal for the reception of the republic. He traced for them, in rapid but striking sketches, the consequences of a violent rupture of the unity of the government, thus far preserved at the cost of so many sacrifices. He showed them the new dictators, by right of popular clearing; themselves cleared out, eight days after, and the inevitable victims of the people, after having been their tools and accomplices. He affected more terror and discouragement than he really felt, in order to inspire it in them, and to carry, through them, terror and repentance into the souls of the conspirators of this movement.

## XV.

These colleagues appeared moved, and decided to interpose, if there was yet time, between the leaders of the projected demonstration and the government. Flocon, who thought as Lamartine, although he was more closely allied than he with the extreme parties, swore that he detested such projects, and that he would never betray, by uniting with them, the faith which the members of the same government, although sometimes separated in views, owed to each other. The session was finished by the adjurations of Lamartine, addressed to those without, rather than to those within, and by this frank declaration of Flocon.

In the morning Lamartine learned from Louis Blanc and Albert that their endeavors to prevent the demonstration had been vain, but that the subaltern leaders had promised them to make efforts to moderate the movement, to disarm it, and to take from it all character of violence. Lamartine replied to his colleagues, with despair, that the violence was in the meeting itself; that the weight of the mass and the number was too sufficient an arm against a disarmed government; that the people

would do violence to themselves, and would soon lose what they had acquired, if they afflicted, constrained, and scandalized the republic, by days similar to that of the seventeenth of March, and perhaps worse.

But the watchword had been given; the die was cast; it was too late for the chiefs, whoever they were, to be able to countermand and dissolve the movement. Louis Blanc and Albert appeared themselves profoundly grieved. Lamartine and his more intimate colleagues resigned themselves to meet the assault which was announced to them, and delivered to God and to the people the destiny of the morning.

#### XVI.

Yet, although unarmed, the members of the government, being warned, did not neglect anything individually, by their connections in the different groups of factions, in the national workshops, and in the great faubourgs of Paris, to discourage the people from the outrage to which the subterranean plots of the clubs, and the socialist and terrorist conventicles, were endeavoring to lead them. Garnier Pagès, Duclerc, and Pagnerre, at the office of the minister of finances, Marie at the national workshops, Marrast at the Hôtel de Ville, kept on foot the means of observation, influence, and voluntary force, of which they could dispose. Lamartine passed a part of the night in despatching emissaries to the faubourg Saint-Antoine, the quarter of the Pantheon, and the precincts, to give the alarm and the watchword to good citizens, to masters of workshops, to contractors, to landlords, and to the chief persons of honesty and influence in these different quarters. He had called also those of whom he was sure, who had been nominated officers of the National Guard, and who were not yet known to their companies; the young men of the schools, devoted to order, and having influence over their comrades; some pupils of the Polytechnic School, remarkable for their intelligence, activity and bravery, who served him as aides-de-camp in critical circumstances, such as MM. Jumel, Baude, Marchal, etc. He informed them of the projects of the morning, and employed them all night in warning, rallying, and arming the citizens, and to hold themselves ready to rush, at the first firing of the cannon, or the first sound of the tocsin, to the Hôtel de Ville.

The Hôtel de Ville was the position to conquer or to defend

in all revolutions, the cradle or the tomb of governments, the sign of victory or defeat. Lamartine was resolved to shut himself up there, and there to sustain the siege of the great insurrection; prepared to perish there, or triumph, according as the people, who had been warned, should rise or should not rise, at the sound of the combat.

MM. Marrast, Buchez, Recurt, Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, a man as considerate as intrepid, Flottard, Colonel Rey, and the principal chiefs of the administration of the city of Paris, were warned. They secretly prepared against the sedition of the morning. Their numerous friends, in these quarters and in the faubourgs, were called, door by door, by their care. Each of them must bring a company of resolute citizens to the common defence. The non-existence of the National Guards, and the umbrage which existed between its different parties, did not admit of more general measures. Each could only rely on himself and his friends.

#### XVII.

These measures taken, Lamartine burned all the papers which contained proper names, or secrets of government at home or abroad, of a nature to serve as a pretext for the vengeance of the factions, if the day, as was too much to be feared, should give the victory to the men of proscription and blood. He threw himself then on his bed, to take a moment's repose.

Hardly had he fallen asleep, when the men who were devoted to his will in the clubs, escaped from those nocturnal assemblies, forced his door, and awoke him to inform him of the latest news.

The leading clubs had constituted themselves in permanent session, at eleven o'clock in the evening. They were armed; they had munitions of war; they had resolved to collect the people on the following morning upon the Champ-de-Mars to the number of a hundred thousand men; to go there themselves at noon, to assume the direction of them; to march by the quays, rousing the floating population of Paris in their path, upon the Hôtel de Ville; to gain possession of it by arms; to expel the provisional government; to decimate the members of the majority who were the most repugnant to them, such as Lamartine, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Marrast, and Dupont de l'Eure. They had nominated, in place of these men, a committee of public safety, composed of Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Arago, whom they wrongfully supposed inclined towards the extreme party. They had joined to them the names of the

principal chiefs of faction, or of the terrorist or socialist sects, who represented the violence of government or the destruction of society. After having thus defeated the government which restrained them, they would (strange to say!) march upon the club of Blanqui, and disembarass themselves equally of this rival tribune, who intimidated them.

This last circumstance did not astonish Lamartine. He knew that Blanqui was the terror of the terrorists less popular and less audacious than himself. It was logical for them to profit by a single insurrection to free themselves at once from their adversaries in the moderate party of government and their enemy in the desperate party of the demagogue.

Blanqui, to all appearance, knew what awaited him. But he did not the less pretend to associate himself with the movement which was in preparation for the morning against Lamartine and his friends. It is to be presumed that Blanqui did not wish to have the appearance of remaining, himself and his party, behind those who wished to advance in the revolution. He thought, perhaps, that, the movement once started, he would be able to gain upon the steps of his rivals, and that his name would overwhelm them under a popularity collected from the still lower dregs of the people. He too assembled his club, and established himself in armed session, like the other conspirators.

### XVIII.

At the dawn of day, Lamartine saw successive groups of the demonstration advance in small detachments of from fifteen to twenty men, preceded by drums and banners, marching by the boulevards. They repaired, conducted by some leaders better dressed, delegates of the clubs, to the rendezvous of the Champ-de-Mars. The greater part were entirely ignorant of the true object of the meeting. The pretext was I know not what examination, preparatory to the appointment of candidates of the workmen.

From hour to hour, the emissaries who had been stationed brought information to Lamartine respecting the state of the Champ-de-Mar., and the movements and appearance of the meeting. It amounted, towards eleven o'clock, to about thirty thousand men. They began to speak there of marching at two o'clock to the Hôtel de Ville; but the clubs were not yet there, and the masses appeared irresolute and but little animated. The laborers of the national workshops, inspired by Marie, and the



numerous emissaries of Lamartine, decomposed the groups as soon as they were formed, and discouraged them from sedition. Sobrier himself employed his friends in dissuading all excess.

Affairs were in this state, and Lamartine was awaiting, before further action, more precise information, and a commencement of the sedition, when a visit from the minister of the interior was announced to him. Lamartine knew, as we have just seen, that the name of Ledru Rollin was among those from which the projected insurrection had composed its committee of public safety. He knew, moreover, that the political chiefs of the socialist sects, the men of popular statesmanship, of Barbès' club, and the Club of Clubs, were intriguing round the minister of the interior, seeking to monopolize his influence and talent, and were endeavoring to draw him into measures contrary to the union of the government and the peace of the republic. Lamartine, without previous connection with his colleague, would not have considered it either loyal to suspect him, or proper to inform him, of the unjust rumors spread about him respecting his relations with the conspirators. He waited for him. He was not deceived.

M. Ledru Rollin informed him of the intelligence he had himself received during the night, the project of an armed demonstration, the provisional government purged, the committee of public safety instituted, his own name usurped, in spite of himself, by the factions, his indignation at their believing him capable of lending his name to conspiracies against his colleagues, his firm resolution to die rather than associate himself with any treason.

"In a few hours," added he, "we shall be attacked by more than a hundred thousand men. What part shall we take? I come to concert with you, since I know that you preserve coolness in the street, and that dangers never trouble your heart."

"There are not two parts," replied Lamartine, rising and extending his hand to his colleague, "there is only one to be adopted; we must fight, or deliver the country to anarchy, the republic to adventurers, the government to shame. You are the minister of the interior; you are loyal and resolute; your powers give you the right to have the *générale* beat in Paris, and to call the National Guard to arms. Do not lose a moment. Go and give the order to raise the legions. As for me, I will go and rouse the battalions of the Guard Mobile, that may be in a state to fight. I will enclose myself in the Hôtel de Ville, with these two or three battalions. I will sustain the as-

sault of the insurrection. One of two things will occur ; either the National Guard, who have not yet appeared, will not answer to this call, and then the Hôtel de Ville will be carried, and I shall perish at my post ; or the call to arms and the volleys of musketry will make the National Guard fly to the assistance of government, attacked in my person at the Hôtel de Ville ; and then the insurrection, taken between two fires, will be drowned in its own blood, the government will be delivered, and an invincible organized force will at length be found for the republic ! I am ready for either event."

What was said was done. The minister of the interior, as resolved as Lamartine to try resistance and combat, went to give orders to beat the call to arms.

Lamartine did not again see his colleague during the day. He intrusted his wife to some friends, who would place her in safety, in case he should fall. He went out, accompanied by a young pupil of Saint-Cyr, son of the brave General de Verdieres, and by the colonel of the staff, Callier, a man of cool intelligence and impassible bravery, whom he had known in the East, and whom he had attached to the office of foreign affairs.

He then repaired to the house of General Duvivier, at the staff of the Guard Mobile. He entered alone ; the general was absent. His chief of the staff and his secretary, informed by Lamartine of the movement which was preparing, supplied the place of the general, and selected with him the four most experienced battalions, and nearest to the Hôtel de Ville. They sent to them the order to advance immediately upon the place de Grève.

At the moment when Lamartine was descending the staircase, to go there himself, he met General Duvivier, who had returned. He reëntered with him.

General Duvivier was one of those men whom no extremity can surprise, whom no danger alarms, since they believe religiously in the law of duty, and their faith is reposed in God, while their courage acts upon the earth ; a kind of pious fatalists, whose destiny is Providence. The general rectified with coolness some orders given during his absence. He ordered his horse to be saddled, and promised to be found at the head of his young soldiers, whom he loved like children, and whom he led on like heroes. But he had no cartridges. Lamartine hastened to find them at the staff of the National Guard in the court of the Tuileries.

## XIX.

General Courtais was absent. A slight altercation arose on the subject of the call to arms, between Lamartine and the chief of the staff, who refused to believe in the movement, and who was alarmed at the effect which would be produced on Paris by beating the call, and by the conflict which must be the consequence of it. Lamartine was irritated at the delay. General Courtais, on returning, put an end to this hesitation, by declaring that the minister of the interior had given him the order to beat to arms, and that the order should be executed. Lamartine departed, followed by the cartridges, and repaired to the Hôtel de Ville. The gathering increased on the Champ-de-Mars, and began to be formed in columns for the march.

During these forced delays, General Changarnier, whom Lamartine had nominated ambassador at Berlin, had come to call upon the minister at the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, to converse with him respecting some details relative to his instructions. Madame de Lamartine received the general. She told him that the presence and concurrence of a brave and renowned officer would be truly of great use at this moment to her husband at the Hôtel de Ville, and would have a powerful effect over the moral courage of the young soldiers. The general, eager for danger, and for an opportunity of showing his zeal, had just arrived at the moment when Lamartine himself entered, accompanied by Colonel Callier and the chief of his cabinet, Payer, since a representative of the people, always attracted by danger.

M. Marrast, firm and impassible, awaited the announced insurrection. Lamartine instructed him respecting the details which have just been read, the order of calling to arms the National Guards, given by the minister of the interior, and the approaching arrival of the four battalions. General Changarnier, Marrast, and Lamartine, took measures for the best possible disposition of this feeble troop. It was agreed, that instead of leaving these battalions, which numbered only four hundred bayonets each, on the square, where they would be merged in the thousands of assailants, they should withdraw them into the courts and interior gardens of the Hôtel, protected by the gates. The general, taking the chief direction of the forces within the walls, was admirable for his presence of mind, zeal, activity and confidence. "If you will answer me to hold out three hours, I will answer for the awakening

of the good citizens, and for the definitive success of the day," said Lamartine to him.

"I will answer for seven hours," replied General Changarnier.

Marrast had the calm and patient courage of men who have read and practised much the history of revolutions. His friends, Buchez, Flottard, Recurt, Colonel Rey, had grouped, in the hotel or in the neighborhood, a battalion of volunteers of the revolution, called the *Lyonnais*, and a certain number of volunteers from the neighboring quarters. Lamartine made them enter successively, harangued them, inflamed them with the fire of the passion which animated himself for the integrity of the republic. General Changarnier then distributed them at all the posts. Lamartine had engaged him to prepare for the possibility of a sally from behind the palace, in order to take the insurrection in the rear, at the moment when the National Guard should attack it by the Pont Saint Michel. The battalions of the Guard Mobile arrived one by one. They saluted Lamartine with acclamations. He had formed them. These youths loved him as a figure seen and heard during the first days of the revolution; as their creator, and their patron since in the government.

## XX.

In the mean time, the numerous messages sent by Lamartine to the schools, to the precincts, to the workmen of the quarries of Belleville, and to the Pantheon, were carried to hasten the arrival of the good citizens. Other messages, coming from the Champ-de-Mars, brought the intelligence that the insurgents were already defiling in vast columns upon the quay de Chaillot. They nowhere heard the drums beating to arms. Lamartine, disturbed at the hesitation which he had witnessed at the staff, communicated his inquietude to General Changarnier and M. Marrast. All three agreed to give new orders through the mayor of Paris. They were told that counter orders had been given, after the departure of Lamartine from the Tuileries, and hence had arisen the delay with which this call had been beaten in the different quarters, and the necessity of the new orders sent by M. Marrast from the Hôtel de Ville. However it might be, the citizens rushed from all quarters to arms.

Lamartine henceforth certain that the minister of the inte-



rior himself had given this order, and engaged his responsibility in the cause of the unity and integrity of the government, with policy, adopted the unity of the government for the watchword of the day, and of all his harangues to the troops, the deputations, and the armed people, who filled the square. The government torn in two, within eleven days of the elections, appeared to him to destroy the unity of the elections and the unity of the republic itself. He stifled his resentments and his suspicion in his heart, so that only the cry of the apparent or real concord between all parties of the republican opinion should be heard. The brave Château-Renaud, having entered the Hôtel de Ville, at the head of a column of armed volunteers, who called with loud cries for Lamartine to pass them in review in the court, he descended, followed by Payer, and spoke to them.

"Citizens," said he to them, "they have announced to-day, to the provisional government, a day of danger for the republic; we were sure, beforehand, that this day of danger would be a day of triumph for the country and for order. I know from recent experience, and I can read it upon the faces of most of you, from the energy, at once intrepid and moderate, that lies at the bottom of the heart of the armed citizens of the capital, that we can rely upon them. France, which is represented for the moment in the government, has no need of any other guard, of any other army, than this voluntary army, which is spontaneously formed, not at the first sound of the drum, for you were armed before the call to arms, but which is formed, of its own accord, at the first rumor of danger, in behalf of the country and public order.

"Citizens, the whole provisional government ought to be this day the watchword of the armed and unarmed population of Paris: for it is against the integrity, against the indivisibility, of the provisional government, that the movement against which you have come to form for us a rampart with your breasts has, they tell us, been conceived.

"They hope, by means of these divisions excited among us, to divide the country, as well as the government. No possible division exists among its members. If some differences of opinion, such as are naturally met with in the great councils of a country, can be found in the administration, unity exists in the same love of the republic, in the same devotion, which animates them towards Paris and France!

"This union is the symbol of that of all the citizens!

"Permit me to express to you, not in my name, but in the name of the unanimity of my colleagues, the gratitude profoundly felt, not by the provisional government, but by all France, for whom this day would have been a day of calamity and civil war, if the government had been divided; but which, thanks to your energy, will be for her a day of the definitive and peaceful triumph of these new institutions which we wish to restore inviolable and entire to the National Assembly, which will be the supreme unity of the country. (*Vive la République*!)"

"Citizens, yet a word!"

"At the epoch of the first republic, there was a fatal word which lost all, and which induced the best citizens to destroy each other from misunderstanding each other. That word was distrust. And yet that word was then explained by the situation of the country, menaced by a coalition abroad, and by the enemies she had at home.

"To-day, when the single proclamation of our principles of fraternal democracy, of respect for governments, has opened in all Europe the horizon of France, and has made the nations seek our friendship instead of seeking our blood; to-day, when the republic is accepted everywhere, without opposition, at home, and promises to all property security and liberty, there is but a single word which corresponds to this situation, and that word is, confidence! Inscribe that word upon your banners and your hearts! Let it be the watchword among all the citizens and all the parties of the empire, and the republic is saved.

"The provisional government gives you the example, by the well-merited confidence which each of us reposes in his colleagues, and which he receives from them in turn! It gives, to-day, the proof of it, by refusing, at all risks, to disunite and separate from itself any of its members, who make its strength by their unity. The indivisibility of the provisional government must thus be the civic conquest of this day. Paris and the departments, reassured as to the strength of the government, and as to the attachment which you bear it, will unite, as you do, and as we do, for the safety of the republic, and will restore in safety to the National Assembly the deposit of the country, which the people of the twenty-fourth of February have intrusted to our hands.

"This confidence which I recommend to you, citizens, is the war-cry, is the sentiment, which I have heard go forth upon all the days of combat; even here, on this staircase, in these

courts, from the lips of the wounded during the struggle of the people and the throne, whence might arise the anarchy of the people! Yes, I have heard it proceed from the lips of those who expired here for the republic, and who seemed to bequeath you thus, in this last injunction, the saving word of the new republic and the country."

## XXI.

These words called forth a unanimous cry of devotion from all the steps of the staircases, from all the courts, and all the galleries, of the Hôtel de Ville. Victory was in that cry. Lamartine heard it for two hours on the lips of all the groups of citizen volunteers, of workmen, of the Guard Mobile, and the pupils of the schools, whom he harangued successively thirty or forty times at this critical moment. He affected always to comprehend the whole provisional government in his addresses, and thus to destroy, beforehand, all germs of division which might spring up from this day. He did so to take away all pretext for civil war, and for the recriminations which might lead to it. The enthusiasm for him was so ardent and so unanimous this day, among the battalions, the people, and the corps of volunteers, who crowded the palace and the square, that if he had denounced a conspiracy, and even demanded vengeance, proscription, or a dictatorship, they would have followed where he led. But by avowing the divisions, and then delivering his colleagues to the suspicions of the people, he did not conceal from himself that he would have betrayed the republic, and have destroyed his country.

In the mean time, from a window of the Hôtel de Ville, he looked out upon the square, without yet knowing which arrived first, or in greatest numbers, the battalions of the National Guard, or the insurgents of the Champ-de-Mars.

A column of about twenty-five or thirty thousand men, conducted by the most furious clubbists, and by some socialist chiefs, had just debouched by the Pont Royal, and struck against a numerous column of National Guards, which General Courtais had ranged in order of battle under the walls of the Louvre. They had not come to blows, but the struggle had been tumultuous; looks, cries, hostile gestures, had been exchanged. The National Guards had allowed the insurgents to pass, and had contented themselves with dividing them, and following them in their procession towards the Hôtel de Ville. Thus were

two armies marching on the same line in silence, and, as it were, mutually observing each other. Already the first groups of this column of the Champ-de-Mars, preceded by flags and some men in red caps, began to debouch slowly on the place de Grève.

At this moment a forest of bayonets glistened on the other side of the Seine, at the end of the Pont Saint-Michel. These were thirty or forty thousand National Guards on the left bank of the river, running at the charging step to the appeal of Lamartine and Marrast. The size of the bridge was not sufficient for them to debouch. They threw themselves in close column upon the square, with cries of "Vive la République!" "Vive le Gouvernement!" They barred the quay against twenty or thirty thousand insurgents. These remained immovable, undecided, and in consternation, at the corner of the place de Grève, not being able to advance, nor recoil, nor to receive in their rear their reinforcements from the Champ-de-Mars, intercepted by the legions under arms from the Champs-Élysées to the extremity of the quay Lepelletier. The legions on the left bank ranged themselves in order of battle on the square. The legions of the precincts, of Belleville, of Bercy, of the faubourg du Temple, of the faubourg Saint-Antoine, and of all the streets of the right bank, arrived at the same moment from all the quays, and all the outlets of the great arteries of Paris, with running step and cries of enthusiasm. These legions inundated with torrents of bayonets all the streets and squares from the arsenal to the Louvre. In three hours Paris was on foot in arms. Not only was the victory of the conspirators impossible, but even attack was folly.

Lamartine thanked General Changarnier, whose assistance was henceforth needless. He begged him to go and inform his wife of the triumph of the good citizens, and the restoration of the public force, — to this time a problem, now a certainty.

General Duvivier was on horseback in the square, in the midst of all his battalions of Guard Mobile, which he had led forth. Two hours were thus passed in an imposing silence, as if it were sufficient for the National Guards to show to the sun their two hundred thousand bayonets to confound all thought of conspiracy and anarchy.

Lamartine, the only member of the government present with Marrast, till four o'clock, received deputations from all the corps, and harangued them, sometimes from the windows, sometimes in the courts, and upon the steps of the staircases.



The twenty thousand insurgents of the Champ-de-Mars, collected at the end of the quays, defiled sadly, in the midst of the hooting of the people, to go and conceal themselves in their disconcerted clubs.

Two hundred thousand bayonets then defiled before the Hôtel de Ville, with cries of "*Vive Lamartine ! à bas les communistes !*"

A deputation of workmen of the Champ-de-Mars was introduced into the palace, after the procession, under pretence of doing homage by their contribution of patriotism. M. Buchez and his colleagues addressed them in severe language. Lamartine did not speak to them; he was occupied at this moment in the council-hall with writing some orders to the National Guards of the precincts, for the security of the night. He saw his two colleagues, Louis Blanc and Albert, enter. He continued to write, without saluting them. He heard them murmur against the omnipotence of those who had, without concerted deliberation, and by their sole authority, caused the drum to beat to arms, repulsed a demonstration of the people, called out the National Guards, and addressed harsh and severe words to a deputation of the people. Lamartine, irritated, could not conceal from himself against whom these murmurs were directed. He turned round, threw down his pen, rose, and approaching his two colleagues, replied to them for the first time with pride and anger but ill-restrained. The two members of the minority retired, and went to carry their complaints to MM. Buchez and Recurt, in another hall. Lamartine, after having provided for the security of the night, by his orders to the legions, went out by a secret door from the Hôtel de Ville, to escape an ovation from the National Guard and the people. With his face covered by his cloak, he sank into the narrow, crooked and deserted streets, that wind behind the palace. A carriage was brought to him. He mounted without being recognized, and ordered the driver to take him to the rue de la Chaussée d'Antin, where his wife was waiting the issue of the day.

Five times during this passage the carriage in which he was concealed was stopped, at the openings of the rue Saint Antoine, the rue du Temple, the rue Saint Denis, the rue Saint Martin, and the rue Montmartre, by columns of from ten to twenty thousand men of the National Guards, some in uniform, others in the costume of workmen, all armed, who made the pavement of the streets echo with the clang of their measured

steps. These columns passed, interrupting a majestic silence with cries, shouted at equal intervals, of "*Vive la république ! Vive Lamartine ! à bas les communistes !*" These military corps, proceeding from every threshold, reassured the citizens, the women and children, crowding to the doors and windows. They were far from suspecting that the man whose name they were shouting to the sky, as a national war-cry, heard these cries from the bottom of that closed carriage whose passage they had intercepted.

Lamartine could not rejoin his wife till the close of the day. This was the happiest day of his political life. The factions were more than vanquished, they were discouraged. The people had spoken his word. This word was the presage of that which the nation was about to repeat at the elections. Paris had risen in arms, without distinction of rank or fortune, and these arms had been united in unanimous fasces to protect the republic, moderate government, order, property, and civilization. The social world had been regained.

## XXII.

The members of the majority of the government had passed this great day in permanent session at the hotel of the finances, in order to provide for events, and not to be carried off by the same party stroke. They united to take their repast together, at ten o'clock in the evening, at the house of the minister of justice, M. Crémieux. They embraced like shipwrecked mariners who have regained the shore.

During the repast, deputations from the National Guards, for whose legions the day had not sufficed to defile before the Hôtel de Ville, came to ask them to proceed by torch-light to the place de Grève. They consented, and repaired there. Lamartine, alone, overcome by weariness, and exhausted in voice, was not present.

The legions, some of which did not number less than from twenty-five to thirty thousand men, under arms, traversed Paris a portion of the night, with cries of "*Vive Lamartine ! à bas les communistes !*" No disorder saddened this awaking of the true people. Security entered with this cry into the dwellings and minds of the citizens. The clubs of communists and demagogues were in consternation, deserted and silent. Some groups of children, always the corrupted echo of the popular voice, went to shout the cries of *Vive Lamartine ! à bas Cabet !*

under the windows of this sectarian chief. Lamartine, when informed of it, immediately sent to disperse these injurious groups. He wrote to Cabet to offer him an asylum, for himself and his family, at his own house.

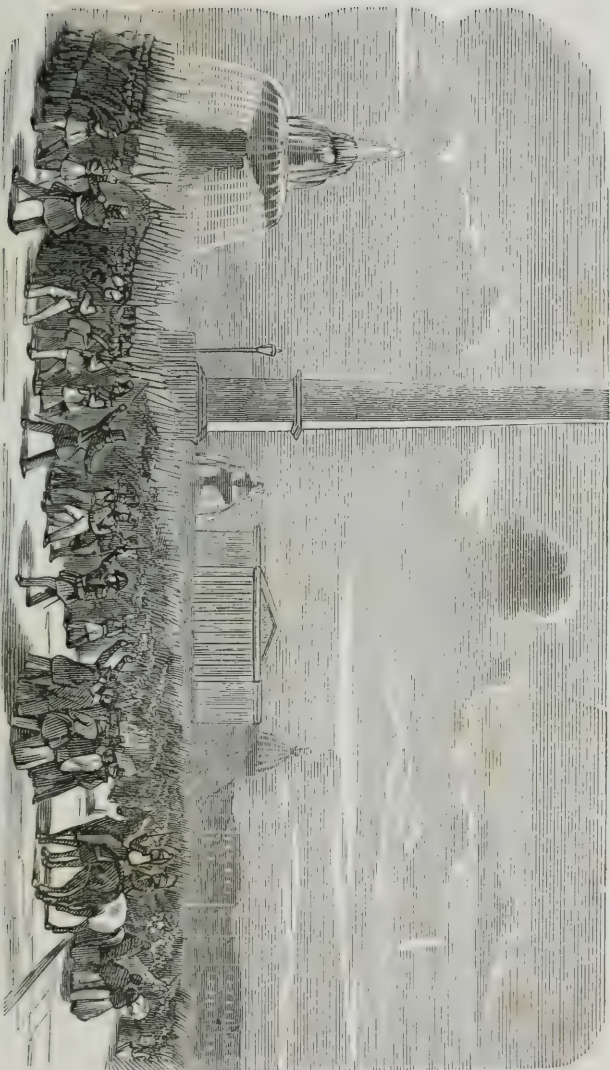
Such was the day of the sixteenth of April: the first great *coup d'état* of the people itself against conspirators, demagogues, dictators, and the barbarians of civilization. Paris breathed, and France had the consciousness of her safety.

But the sixteenth of April was only an accidental symptom. The majority of government wished to know if this symptom would be revived in order at their voice, and if the spontaneous fusion of all the elements of the National Guard would present a solid and fixed point of opinion and strength to the republic. A public cry demanded a general review of all the bayonets voluntarily devoted to protect the country and society. The people of Paris began to desire the return of the troops within their walls. The vast majority of the government suffered from the absence of the army. They desired to have it return insensibly into the national framework of society, from which fatality and prudence had temporarily removed it. They wished it to be recalled with enthusiasm, and not to be imposed by constraint. They sought an occasion to accustom the eye of the people to the presence, the pomp, and the love of the troops. The government, that day unanimous in this opinion, appointed a general review of all the National Guards of Paris, of the precincts, even of the neighboring towns, of the Guard Mobile, and the regiments of artillery, infantry and cavalry, in the sight of Paris.

This review would take place on the twenty-first of April, under the name of the Review of Fraternity.

### XXIII.

The members of the provisional government, and the ministers, stationed themselves at the break of day upon the first steps of a platform raised behind the Triumphal Arc de l'Étoile. The vernal sun illuminated the vast avenue which extends from this arch of Napoleon to the palace of the Tuileries. It was reflected from the cannon, the helmets, the cuirasses, and the bayonets of the National Guards, and the troops, ranged by batteries, squadrons and battalions, over the whole causeway of the Champs-Élysées, and upon the place de la Concorde. The two columns of the armed people, dividing there,



THE NATIONAL GUARDS DEFILEING BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.



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extended without interruption, the one, by the quays, as far as Bercy, the other, by the boulevards, as far as the Bastille. It was an entire capital, with its neighboring provinces, descended from their firesides into a camp. A loud and joyful murmur, mingled with the clash of arms and the neighing of horses, arose from this multitude. All faces breathed the enthusiasm and happiness of a regained social order. The people had become the army; the army had become the people. No mark of impatience or weariness was manifested in this gathering, unexampled since the great migrations of nations.

At the voice of the government these masses put themselves in motion at eight o'clock in the morning. They defiled, by battalions, to the sound of drums and military bands of music, before the platform, where the members of the government, standing, saluted, in turn, the legions and regiments, and distributed to them the new flags of the republic. These legions, some of which did not number less than thirty thousand men under arms, were followed, as in the march of caravans, by a vast throng of unarmed people, old men, women, and children, the complement of the human family, attached to the steps of armed fathers and sons.

They had stripped the trees and the gardens of the environs of Paris of branches and lilacs, to decorate the muskets and cannon. The bayonets were intertwined with flowers; nature veiled the arms. A vast, inexhaustible river of steel and of foliage, floating at the end of the muskets, wound over the whole horizon of the Champs-Élysées. On approaching the platform, before which this river of men divided into two branches, to flow more rapidly, the women, the children and the soldiers, tore these decorations from their musket-barrels, and threw them, like a rain of flowers, upon the heads of the members of the government. A loud cry of "*Vive la République, vive le gouvernement provisoire, vive l'armée!*" was raised, without interruption, from the battalions and the people. The cries of "*Vive Lamartine*" constantly predominated in these voices, and were mingled with cries of "*à bas les communistes.*" The popularity of this name, instead of being worn out among the people by so much anguish and misery of the times, appeared to be strengthened and made universal in public sentiment. The people of the country and the departments pointed out Lamartine, and saluted him with the most enthusiastic acclamations. The sixteenth of April had made him in their eyes a sort of personification of defended and regained society.

Behind these united battalions marched legions of poor old men and women, bearing their little infants in their arms. Rustic carts carried even the infirm and indigent of the villagers. It was from the bosom of these groups in rags that arose the most passionate cries of war to disorder, hatred to communists, of "*Vive Lamartine! — Vive la République!*" The feeling of society is so divine, so instinctive in man, that it interests in the reëstablishment of social order, of property, and the family, even those who appear to have the least interest in its cause, and to be the most destitute of its benefits. Tears flowed from the eyes of this people, and moistened the eyes of the spectators. The cries redoubled at the appearance of those fine regiments of the line, who inclined their swords before the government, and who appeared to have regained their place in the reconciled family.

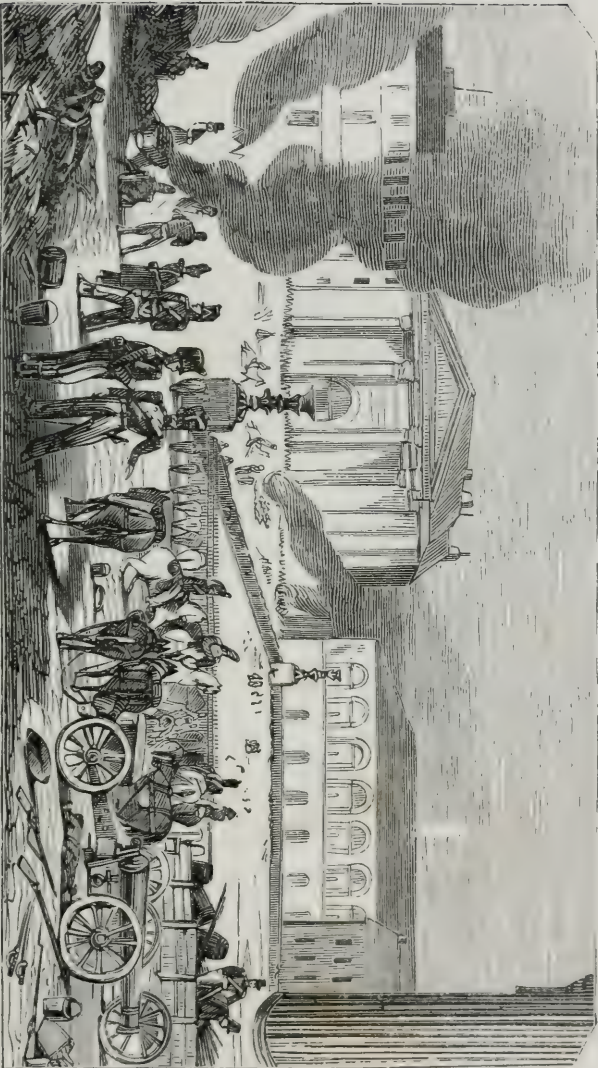
The day declined, before this armed people, although marching at the charging step, and thirty or forty abreast, could flow before the Triumphal Arch. The procession continued by torch-light till eleven o'clock at night. Fourteen hours was not enough to exhaust this river of men, of steel, of flowers and torches, flowing among the trees of the Champs-Élysées. Two legions, forming together fifty thousand bayonets, were obliged to adjourn their review till another day. The most experienced military men calculated that three hundred and fifty thousand bayonets or swords had defiled, between these two suns, under the eyes of the government. Paris returned to its dwellings with the feeling of the restoration of the country and society.

#### XXIV.

The day after the morrow, two legions of the centre of Paris, who had not been passed in review, from want of time, murmured, and demanded to perform their act of adhesion to the provisional government, by defiling before it, on the place Vendôme.

The members of the government assembled at the office of the minister of justice, and appeared upon the balcony; their presence was saluted by a unanimous shout of "*Vive le gouvernement!*" where, above all, on this day, predominated the cry of "*Vive Lamartine!*" His colleagues themselves showed him by the hand to the legions, who defiled with this cry.

He descended and passed with them into the ranks of this army, which covered the square. Although he affected to



BIVOUAC OF THE NATIONAL GUARDS, APRIL 16, 1848.



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march in the last rank of the members of the government, and the ministers, his presence was a triumph at every step. His name was nearly the only cry of this armed centre of Paris. A thrill ran through the legions at his approach; they followed him with enthusiasm when he had passed. Hands, seivered with love, touched his hands and garments. He heard low voices murmur in his ears words which invited him to the dictatorship, and which tempted him with a truly popular royalty.

Having returned to the office of justice, and stationed at a balcony to see this armed people defile, the same cries arose, without interruption, to his ears. He withdrew, confused at a fanaticism which he only owed to the caprice of the multitude; humiliated at a predilection which was as much due to his colleagues as to himself. But popular instinct does not choose; it hurries forward, and is often at fault. Lamartine began this day to be troubled at an excess of public favor, which he was resolved not to settle exclusively on a single man, that he might restore it all to the representation of the country and to the republic. He felt that in a few days it would be more difficult to abdicate this power of the mob than to usurp it.

## BOOK XIV.

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### I.

ALL became easy for the government after the date of the sixteenth of April. The factious and ambitious had been convinced of their weakness. The surprise projected by the clubs, to bear off the dictatorship, and to perpetuate and deprave the revolutionary government, had been baffled. The parties were not resigned, but they trembled. They gained in bitterness what they had lost in hope. The clubs became conspirators; the journals envenomed the rare but bitter discussions of government. An insurrection of workmen, inflamed by the desperate and factious men of Paris, attempted at Rouen what had failed in the capital. Energetically repressed by the National Guard and by the army, this sedition and the measures taken for its suppression became the subject of violent recriminations. M. Arago defended, with indignation and courage, the general officers accused by the petitions of the demagogues.

But the hour of the National Assembly approached. The majority of the government temporized. Lamartine, with his eyes intently fixed upon the day of the elections, neglected, from this moment, all dissensions as to details, and even as to principles, which might arise between the majority and minority of the government. He dreaded more than ever any violent collision, which might compromise the only true object of his efforts, and of the efforts of the majority: the convocation of a National Assembly, without civil war. "I have tried to represent the resistance of the true democracy against the odious spirit of the demagogue, in the government," said he: "now I wish to become the oil which calms all irritations rising from conflicting opinions, and which prevents all ruptures."

One day, during his absence, the minister of the interior, having made a division with his colleagues, and retired with the resolution of offering his resignation, Lamartine proposed

himself as mediator. He went himself to the house of the minister of the interior. He represented to him, from the common interest of the government and the country, the danger of a collision, which might lead to anarchy, and brought about an accommodation.

## II.

They were on the eve of the elections ; the government had deliberated a long time whether it should present itself before the National Assembly with a plan of constitution ready prepared, or whether it should content itself with abdicating, and abstain at the outset from any attempt which might resemble a continued dictatorship, or a usurpation of the national sovereignty. Dupont de l'Eure, a man as penetrating as sagacious, did not cease to conjure Lamartine to occupy himself with this plan of a constitution. The opinion of Lamartine on this subject was conformable to that of Dupont de l'Eure. He thought that the debates respecting a constitution would be long and tumultuous for an assembly ; that they would waste the time which might be better employed in providing for the dangers and multiplied emergencies of the inauguration of a democratic government ; that a constitution, that is to say, the two or three principles of a government, ought to be written in a few lines, as the lapidary record of a revolution and a civilization ; that the organic laws of this constitution ought then to be flexible, consecutive, easily modified, and drafted at leisure, according to the emergency and the occasion, without having the character of the immutability of the constitution itself.

He had, consequently, reduced to five or six axioms the substance of a constitution. He desired that this, in substance, should be voted with acclamations, in two or three sessions, and that the government should emanate immediately from the voted constitution.

Lamartine was convinced that the unity of the executive power, deposited in a presidency, in a director, or in a council, would be the ultimate form which the republic would adopt, after the period of its creation. But for the first period, destined to accustom the country to the republican form of government, and to unite together in a common and harmonious interest the principal tendencies of public opinion, he thought of admitting, for two or three years, an executive power, composed of three men, who, chosen by the National



Assembly, would represent the three elements of which all public opinion is composed : progress, conservatism, moderation. These three forces, combined together, in a consulate of three years, each corresponding with one of the three parties in the nation, — the progressive, the conservative, and the moderate, — appeared to him, without doubt, a possible cause of division and weakness in the executive power; but what he feared above all, for the republic, at its origin, was civil war. This mixed dictatorship, giving security and pledges to opposite opinions, was of a nature to prevent it. He was occupied with this object. He conversed respecting it with several of his colleagues; he determined to sound the dispositions of the members of the National Assembly in regard to it, upon their arrival at Paris, and to take that course which appeared to him the most universally adopted by the majority of minds. A private conference on this subject took place between him and some advocates of different opinions from his own. They sought to come to an understanding; they adjourned everything, they resolved on nothing. Everything depended, with regard to this, on unknown elements; the mind, the disposition, the majorities, the minorities, among the members of the National Assembly.

As to a plan of constitution to be presented, they renounced it entirely in the last session which preceded the twenty-seventh of April. The three parties, which were in turn in opposition or in harmony within the bosom of the government, were too much divided, and sometimes too much irritated, to come to an understanding upon a common plan of constitution. The socialist party, the conventionalist party, and the republican party, could not bring forth the same idea. They felt it, they admitted it; they had recourse to the National Assembly, which must give a casting vote among these parties. The two last parties might, with some effort, come to an agreement. The first was incompatible with the National Assembly, for the National Assembly would act for the interest of the soil, the age, and the administration. The socialist party would act for the interest of an absolute theory; an absolute theory is violence. Violence can only constitute tyranny.

### III.

At last, the dawn of safety was appearing for France with the day of the general elections. This was the Easter-day,

the twenty-seventh of April, an epoch of pious solemnity, chosen by the provisional government in order that the labors of the people might not serve as a diversion nor a pretext to draw them from the fulfilment of their duty, and in order that the religious sentiment which hovers over the human mind during these days, consecrated to the commemoration of a great worship, might penetrate the public spirit, and give to liberty the sanctity of a religion.

It was the boldest problem ever presented before a nation organized in a period of revolution. This trial solved it for the safety and glory of the nation.

At sunrise the people, collected and moved with patriotism, formed in columns at the entrances of the temples, conducted by the mayors, the curates, the teachers, the justices of the peace, and influential citizens, passed through the villages and hamlets to the principal places of the district, and deposited in the urns, without other impulse than their own conscience, without violence, and almost without solicitation, the names of the men whose honor, intelligence, virtue, talent, and, above all, whose moderation, inspired them with the greatest confidence for the common safety, and for the future of the republic.

It was the same in the cities. The citizens were seen, rich and poor, soldiers or workmen, proprietors or the destitute, going out, one by one, from the threshold of their houses, with calmness and serenity on their faces, to carry their written votes to the polls, and sometimes stopping to modify them, under a new inspiration, or under a sudden repentance of their consciences, and deposit them in the urn; then returning, with satisfaction painted on their countenances, as from a pious ceremony. Never had public conscience and the general good sense of the community been manifested by a people with more scruple, religion, and dignity. It was one of those days when a nation looks to Heaven, and when Heaven looks upon a nation. The government gave themselves this day of repose, the first for three months. They felt that God and the people were working for them.

#### IV.

The churches were filled with a kneeling crowd, who invoked the divine inspiration and the spirit of peace upon the hands of the electors. They felt that their prayer was granted, before they offered it. The calm with which the electoral proceedings were conducted was a presentiment of the choice which

emanated from the heart of this people. Anarchy could not proceed from so unanimous an inspiration of good.

At the decline of day Lamartine wandered alone, with his heart filled with gratitude, in a populous quarter of Paris. He saw the crowd ascending and descending the steps of a church. The court-yard in front seemed overflowing with worshippers, — men, women, children, old men, young men, — all eyes full of hope for the future, their attitude firm, their countenance in repose. The sounds of the organ were heard in the street, when the doors were opened, and allowed the tones of the instrument and the echo of the psalms to pass through.

He entered; he glided, unknown in the darkness, among this crowd, which filled the church. He knelt under the shade of a column, and returned thanks to God. His work was accomplished. Great personal dangers might yet menace him before the day when the National Assembly should enter Paris and take possession of its sovereignty. There were still to be met desperate resistance, guilty hopes, conspiracies for adjournment, insurrections raised by the demagogues of the clubs, menaces of proscription and assassination against him and his colleagues. Many eminent men, incredulous to the last hour, wrote, or said to him, that the national representatives would never take their seats without reconquering Paris through waves of blood. He received each day from the departments sinister information respecting the real or imaginary plots woven against his life. They told him of fanatical parties of such or such a city, who would strike him with the dagger, and proclaim the revolutionary government over his dead body. "I may yet fall, in fact," said he, in the secret belief of his heart, "but at this late hour France cannot fall; the votes are in the urn. They will be numbered to-morrow. Her sovereignty exists, her legal representatives are appointed. If the government is overthrown by a conspiracy, these chosen men of France will unite in each department; they will arrive at the gates of Paris, escorted by two millions of armed citizens; they will crush the dictators or the committees of public safety. They will take France from the hands of the factious. What matters it that I die? France is saved!"

France could, in fact, henceforth breathe. The National Assembly was, in nearly all its names, an act of public safety. The name of Lamartine was drawn ten times from the electoral urn, without his knowing even a single one of his electors. If he had said a word, insinuated a desire, made a gesture, he

would have been chosen in eighty departments. His popularity was without bound in Paris, in France, in Germany, in Italy, and America. For Germany, his name was peace. For France, it was the guarantee against terror. For Italy, it was hope. For America, it was the republic. He had really, at this moment, the sovereignty of the European conscience. He could not take a step in the streets without raising acclamations. They followed him into his dwelling, and interrupted his sleep. Twice recognized at the opera in the remote part of a box, the pit and spectators rose, suspended the representation, and covered his name for five minutes with applause. France personified in him her joy at having regained her government.

V.

The country had chosen, with reflection, with impartiality and wisdom, all the good men, whose opinions, at once liberal, republican, honest, moderate and courageous, could adapt themselves, without impatience, as without repugnance, to the new order of things made necessary by the revolution. France had shown the genius for transition, and sovereign tact in moulding herself to circumstances. She had discarded only the names too much signalized by the favor or the faults of the last government. She had not proscribed, but deferred them. She feared resentments and recriminations. This assembly of nine hundred members was the honor and patriotism of France collected in its sovereignty. History ought to engrave their names for posterity on a page of marble, with the exception of a small number of demagogues, superannuated imitators of 1793, and five or six fanatics driven mad by chimeras. The names of all these citizens collected together signified the safety of France, and the foundation of the constitutional republic. The following are their names:—

AIN. — Bodin (Alex.-Marcel-Melchior). Bochart. Charassin. Francisque Bouvet (François-Joseph). Guigue de Champvans. Maissiat (Jacques). Quinet (Edgar). Regembal (Antoine). Tendret.

AINES. — Barrot (Odilon). Bauchart (Quentin). Baudelot. De Brotonne. Desabes. Dufour (Théophile). Lemaire (Maxime). Leproux (Jules). Lherbette. Nachet. Plocq (Toussaint). Quinette. De Tillancourt (Edmond). Vivien.

ALLIER. — Bureaux de Puzy. De Courtais. Fargin Fayolle.



Laussedat (Louis). Madet (Charles). Mathé (Félix). Terrier (Barthélemy). Tourret (Charles-Gilbert).

BASSES-ALPES. — Chais (Auguste). Duchaffault. Fortoul. Laidet.

HAUTES-ALPES. — Allier. Bellegarde. Faure (Pascal-Joseph).

ARDÈCHE. — Champanhet. Chazallon. Dantheville (François). Laurent. Mathieu. Rouveure. Royol (Jean). Sibour. Valladier.

ARDENNES. — Blanchard. Drappier. Payer. Robert (Léon). Talon. Ternaux-Mortimer. Toupet-Desvignes. Tranchart.

ARIÈGE. — Anglade (Clément). Arnaud. Casse. Darnaud. Galy-Cazalat. Vignes (Th). Xavier-Durrieu.

AUBE. — Blavoyer. Delaporte. Gayot (Amédée.) Gerdy (Pierre-Nicolas). Lignier. Millard (Jean-Auguste). Stourm.

AUDE. — Anduze-Faris. Barbès (Armand). Joly fils (Edmond). Raynal (Théodore). Sarrans (Jean). Solier (Marc). Trinchant.

AVEYRON. — Abbal (Basile-Joseph). Affre (Louis-Henri). Dalbis du Salze. Dubruel (Édouard). Grandet. Médal. Pradié. Rodat. Vernhette. Vésin.

BOUCHES-DU-RHONE. — Astouin. Barthélemy. Berryer (Pierre-Antoine). Laboulie (Gustave). Ollivier (Démosthènes). Pascal (Félix). Poujoulat. Rey (Alexandre). Reybaud (Louis). Sauvaire-Barthélemy.

CALVADOS. — Bellencontre (Joseph-Pierre-François). Besnard (Jean-Charles). Demortreux (Pierre-Thomas-Frédéric). Desclais (Jacques-Alexandre). Deslongrais (Armand-Rocherullé). Douesnel-Dubosq (Robert-Alexandre). Hervieu (Pierre-Sosthène). Lebarillier (Louis-Constant). Lemonnier (Jean-Nicolas). Marie (Auguste-Alphonse). Person (Félix). Thomine-Desmasures.

CANTAL. — Daude. Delzons (Jean-François-Amédée). Durieu-Paulin. Murat-Sistrières. Parieu (Félix-Esquiron de), Richard. Teilhard-Latérisse.

CHARENTE. — Babaud-Larivière. Garnier-Laboissière. Girardin (Ernest de). Hennessy (Auguste). Lavallée. Mathieu-Bodet. Pougeard. Rateau.

CHARENTE-INFÉRIEURE. — Audry de Puyraveau (Pierre-François). Baroche. Brard (Pierre-Lucien). Bugeaud. Debain (Léon). Dufaure. Dupont de Bussac. Gaudin (Pierre-Théodore). Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angély. Renou de Ballon. Target.

CHER. — Bidault. Bouzique (Étienne-Ursin). Duplan (Paul). Duvergier de Hauranne. Poisle-Desgranges (Jacques-Damien). Pyat (Félix). Vogué (Léonce de).

CORRÈZE. — Bourzat. Ceyras. Du Bousquet Laborderie. Favart. Latrade. Lebraly. Madesclaire. Penières.

CORSE. — Bonaparte (Napoléon). Bonaparte (Pierre-Napoléon). Casabianca (Xavier). Conti (Étienne). Pietri (Pierre-Marie).

COTE-D'OR. — Bouguéret (Edouard). Godard-Poussignol. James-Demontry. Joigneaux. Magnin-Philippon. Maire (Neveu). Maréchal. Mauguin. Monnet. Perrenet (Pierre).

COTES-DU-NORD. — Carré (Félix). Denis. Depasse (Émile-Toussaint-Marcel). Glais-Bizoin. Houvenagle. Ledru. Legorrec. Loyer. Marie. Michel. Morhéry. Perret. Racinet. Simon (Jules). Tassel (Yves). Tréveneuc (Henri-Louis-Marie de).

CREUSE. — Desainthorent. Fayolle (Edmond). Guisard. Lassarre. Lecler (Félix). Leyraud. Sallandrouze-Lamornais.

DORDOGNE. — Auguste Mie. Barailler (Eugène). Chavoix (Jean-Baptiste). Delbetz. Dezeimeris. Ducluzeau. Dupont (Auguste). Dussolier. Goubie. Grolhier-Desbrousses. Lacrouzille (Amédée). Savy. Taillefer (Timoléon).

DOUBS. — Baraguay d'Hilliers. Bixio. Convers. Demesmay. Mauvais. Montalembert. Tanchard.

DROME. — Bajard. Belin. Bonjean. Curnier. Mathieu (Philippe). Morin. Rey. Sautayra.

EURE. — Alcan (Michel). Canel. Davy. Demante (Antoine-Marie). Dumont. Dupont. Langlois. Legendre. Montreuil (de). Picard (Jean-Jacques-François). Sevaistre (Paul).

EURE-ET-LOIR. — Barthélemy. Isambert. Lebreton (Eugène-Casimir). Marescal. Raimbault-Courtin. Subervie. Troussseau (Armand).

FINISTÈRE. — Brunel (Alexis). Decouvrant (André-Marie-Adolphe). Fauveau (Joseph). Fournas (Balthazar de). Graveran Kéranflech (Yves-Michel-Gilart de). Kersauson (Joseph-Marc-Marie). Lacrosse. Le Breton (Charles-Louis). Le Flo. Mège (James). Riverieulx (Armand-Marie-Émile). Rossel (Victor). Soubigou (François-Louis). Tassel.

GARD. — Béchard (Ferdinand). Bousquet. Chapot. Demians (Auguste). Favend (Étienne-Édouard-Charles-Eugène). Labruguière-Carme. Larcy (de). Reboul (Jean). Roux-Car-bonnel. Teulon.

**HAUTE-GARONNE.** — Azerm (Louis). Caès (Godefroi). Dabeaux. Espinasse (Ernest de l'). Gatien-Arnoult (Adolphe-Félix). Joly (Henri). Malbois (Jean-François). Marrast (Armand). Mulé (Bernard). Pages de l'Ariège (Jean-Baptiste). Pegot-Ogier (Jean-Baptiste). Rémusat (Charles de).

**GERS.** — Alem-Rousseau. Ayliès. Boubée (Théodore). Carbonneau. David (Irénee). Gavarret. Gounon. Panat (de).

**GIRONDE.** — Billaudel (Jean-Baptiste-Basilide). Denjoy. Desèze (Aurélien). Ducos (Théodore). Feuilhade-Chauvin. Hovyn-Tranchère. Hubert-Delisle. Lagarde. Larrieu. Molé. Richier. Servièrre. Simiot. Thomas (Clément).

**HÉRAULT.** — André (Jules). Bertrand (Jean-Pierre-Louis-Toussaint). Brives. Carion-Nisas (André). Cazelles (Brutus). Charamaule (Hippolyte). Laissac. Reboul-Coste (Aristide). Renouvier (Jules). Vidal.

**ILLE-ET-VILAINE.** — Andigné de la Chasse (d'). Bertin. Bidard. Fresneau (Armand). Garnier-Kérualt. Jouin (Pierre). Kerdrel (Vincent-Audren de). Legeard de La Diriays. Legraverend. Marion (Jean-Louis). Méaulé (Charles). Paul Rabuan. Roux-Lavergne (Pierre-Célestin). Trédern (de).

**INDRE.** — Bertrand (Henri). Charlemagne (Edouard). Delavau (François-Charles). Fleury. Grillon (Eugène-Victor-Adrien). Rollinat.

**INDRE-ET-LOIRE.** — Crémieux (Isaac-Adolphe). Foucqueteau. Gouin (Alexandre). Julien. Jullien (Amable). Luminais. Taschereau (Jules). M. Bacot.

**ISÈRE.** — Bertholon. Blanc (Alphonse). Brillier. Cholat. Clément (Auguste). Crépu. Durand-Savoyat. Farconnet. Froussard. Marion de Faverges (André). Renaud. Repellin. Ronjat. Saint-Romme. Tranchand.

**JURA.** — Chevassu. Cordier (Joseph). Gréa. Grévy (Jules). Huot (Césaire). Jobez (Alphonse). Tamisier. Valette.

**LANDES.** — Bastiat (Frédéric). Dampierre (Élie de). Duclerc (Eugène). Duprat (Pascal). Lefranc (Victor). Marrast (François). Turpin (Numa).

**LOIR-ET-CHER.** — Ducoux. Durand de Romorantin. Gérard. Normant (Antoine). Salvat. Sarrut (Germain).

**LOIRE.** — Alcock. Baune. Callet (Pierre-Auguste). Chavassieu. Devillaine. Favre (Jules). Fourneyron (Benoist). Levet (Henri). Martin-Bernard. Point. Verpillieux.

**HAUTE-LOIRE.** — Avond (Auguste). Badon. Breymand. Grellet (Félix). Lafayette (Edmond). Lagrevol (Alexandre). Laurent (Aimé). Rulhière.

LOIRE-INFÉRIEURE. — Bedeau (Marie-Alphonse). Billaut. Braheix, Camus de la Guibourgère (Alexandre-Prosper). Desmars. Favre (Ferdinand). Favreau (Louis-Jacques). Fournier (Félix). Granville (Aristide de). Lanjuinais. Rochette (Ernest de la). Sesmaisons (Olivier de). Waldeck-Rousseau.

LOIRET. — Abbaticci. Arbey. Considérant (Victor). Martin (Alexandre). Michot. Péan (Émile). Roger. Rondeau.

LOT. — Ambert. Carla. Cavaignac (le général Eugène) Labrousse (Émile). Murat (Lucien). Rolland. Saint-Priest (de).

LOT-ET-GARONNE. — Baze. Bérard. Boissié. Dubruel (Gaspard), Luppé (Irène de). Mispoulet. Radoult-Lafosse. Tartas (Émile). Vergnes (Paul).

LOZÈRE. — Comandré (Édouard). Desmolles. Renouard (Fortuné). M. l'abbé Fayet.

MAINE-ET-LOIRE. — Bineau. Cesbron-Lavau (Charles). David d'Angers. Dutier. Falloux (de). Farran. Freslon (Alexandre). Gullier de la Tousche. Jouneaux. Lefrançois. Louvet (Ch.). Oudinot. Tessié de la Motte.

MANCHE. — Abraham-Dubois. Boulatignier. Delouche. Demésange. Diguët. Dudouyt. Essars (des). Gaslonde. Havin. Laumondais. Lempereur. Perrée (Louis). Tocqueville (Henry-Alexis de). Vieillard (Narcisse). M. Reibell.

MARNE. — Aubertin. Bailly. Bertrand (Jean.) Dérodé (L.-Émile). Faucher (Léon). Ferrand. Leblond. Pérignon. Soullié.

HAUTE-MARNE. — Chauchard. Couvreur. Delarbre. Milhous. Montrol. Toupot-de-Besvaux. Walferdin.

MAYENNE. — Bigot. Boudet. Chambolle. Chenais. Dubois. Fresney (Joseph). Dutreil. Goyet-Dubignon. Jamet (Émile). Roussel (Jules).

MEURTHE. — Adelswaerd (d'). Charron fils. Deludre. Ferry. Laflize. Leclerc. Liouville. Marchal. Saint-Ouen. Viox. Vogin.

MEUSE. — Buvignier (Isidore). Chadenet. Etienne. Gillon (Paulin). Launois. Moreau. Salmon. M. Dessaux.

MORBIHAN. — Beslay. Crespel de la Tousche. Dahirel. Daniélo. Dubodan. Fournas (de). Harscouët de Saint-Georges. Leblanc. Parisis. Perrien (Arthur de). Pioghe (de). Rochejaquelein (de la).

MOSELLE. — Antoine. Bardin. Deshayes. Espagne (d'). Jean-Reynaud. Labbé. Poncelet. Rolland (Gustave). Tottain. Valette. Woirhaye.



NIÈVRE. — Archambault. Dupin. Gambon. Girerd. Grangier de la Marinière. Lafontaine. Manuel. Martin (Émile).

NORD. — Antony-Thouret. Aubry. Bonte-Pollet. Boulanger. Choque. Corne. Delespaul. Descat. Desmoutiers. Desurmont. Dollez. Dufont. Duquesne. Farez. Giraudon. Hannoye. Heddebault. Huré. Lemaire (André). Lenglet. Loiset. Malo. Mouton. Négrier. Pureur. Regnard. Serlooten. Vendois.

OISE. — Barillon. Désormes. Flye. Gérard. Lagache. Leroux (Émile). Marquis (Donatien). Mornay (Jules de). Sainte-Beuve. Tondu-du-Metz.

ORNE. — Charencey (de). Corcelles (de). Curial. Druet-Desvaux. Gigon-Labertrie. Guérin. Hamard. Piquet. Tracy (Destut de). Simphor-Vaudoré. Ballot.

PAS-DE-CALAIS. — Bellart-Dambricourt. Cary. Cornille. Degeorge. Denissel. Emmery. Fourmentin. Fhéchon. Hérembault (d'). Lantoine-Harduin. Lebleu. Olivier. Petit (de Bryas). Piéron. Pierret. Saint-Amour. Lenglet.

PUY-DE-DÔME. — Altaroche. Astaix. Baudet-Lafarge. Bravard (Toussaint). Bravard-Veyrières. Charras. Combarel-de-Leyval. Girot-Pouzol. Gouttai. Jouvét. Jusserand. Lasteyras. Lavigne. Rouher. Trélat.

BASSES-PYRÉNÉES. — Barthe (Marcel). Boutoey. Condou. Dariste. Etcheverry. Laussat (de). Leremboure. Lestapis. Nogué. Renaud. Saint-Gaudens.

HAUTES-PYRÉNÉES. — Cenac. Deville. Dubarry. Lacaze (Bernard). Recurt. Vignerte.

PYRÉNÉES-ORIENTALES. — Arago (Emmanuel). Arago (Étienne). Guiter. Lefranc. Picas.

BAS-RHIN. — Boussingault. Bruckner. Champy. Chauffour. Dorlan. Engelhardt. Foy. Gloxin. Kling. Lauth. Liechtemberger. Martin (de Strasbourg). Schlosser. Westercamp. Culmann.

HAUT-RHIN. — Hardy. Dollfus. De Heeckeren. Heuchel. Kestner. König. Prudhomme. Rudler. Stoecklé. Struch. Yves. Chauffour.

RHONE. — Auberthier. Benoit. Chanay. Doutre. Ferrouillat. Gourd. Greppo. Lacroix. (J.). Laforest. De Mortemart. Mouraud. Paullian. Pelletier. Rivet.

HAUTE-SAONE. — Angar. Dufournel. Grammont (de). Guérin. Lélut. Millotte. Minal. Noirot. Signard.

SAONE-ET-LOIRE. — Bourdon. Bruys. Dariot. Jeandeau.

Lacroix (A.). Martin-Rey. Mathey. Mathieu. Menand  
Petit-Jean. Pézerat. Reverchon. Rolland. Thiard (de).

SARTHE. — Beaumont (Gustave de). Chevé. Degousée.  
Gasselin (de Chantenay). Gasselin (de Fresnay). Hauréau.  
Lamorière. Langlais. Lebreton. Lorette. Saint-Albin  
(Hortensius de). Trouvé-Chauvel.

SEINE. — Albert. Arago (François). Berger. Blanc (Louis).  
Boissel. Buchez. Carnot. Caussidière. Changarnier. Co-  
querel. Corbon. Cormenin (de). Flocon. Fould (Achille).  
Garnier Pagès. Garnon. Goudchaux. Guinard. Hugo (Vic-  
tor). Lagrange. Lamartine (Alphonse de). Lamennais (de).  
Lasteyrie (Ferdinand de). Ledru Rollin. Leroux (Pierre).  
Marie. Moreau. Perdiguier (Agricol). Peupin. Proudhon.  
Raspail. Vavin. Wolowski. Bonaparte (L.-N.).

SEINE-INFÉRIEURE. — Bautier. Cécille. Dargent. Démar-  
est. Desjobert. Dupin (Charles). Germonière. Girard.  
Grandin (Victor). Lebreton (Th.). Lefort-Gonssolin. Le-  
vavasseur. Loyer. Morlot. Osmont. Randoing. Sénard.  
Thiers.

SEINE-ET-MARNE. — Aubergé. Bastide (J.). Bavoux. Chap-  
pon. Drouyn de Lhuis. Lafayette (G.). Lafayette (Oscar).  
Lasteyrie (J. de). Portalis (A.).

SEINE-ET-OISE. — Albert de Luynes (d'). Barthélemy Saint-  
Hilaire. Berville. Bezanson. Durand. Flandin. Landrin.  
Lécuyer. Lefebvre. Pagnerre. Pigeon. Rémilly.

DEUX-SÈVRES. — Baugier. Blot. Boussi. Charles (aîné).  
Chevallon. Demarçay. Maichain. Richard (J.).

SOMME. — Allart. Beaumont (de). Creton. Defourment.  
Delatre. Dubois (Am.). Gaultier de Rumilly. Labordère.  
Magniez. Morel-Cornet. Blin de Bourdon.

TARN. — Boyer. Garayon-Latour. Marliave (de). Mou-  
ton. Puységur (de). Rey. Saint-Victor (de). Voisins (de).

TARN-ET-GARONNE. — Cazalès (de). Delbrel. Detours.  
Faure-Dère. Maleville (de). Rous.

VAR. — Alleman. André (Marius). Arène. Arnaud (Ch.).  
Baune (Edm.). Cazy. Guigues (Luc.). Maurel (Marcell.).  
Philibert.

VAUCLUSE. — Bourbousson. Gent. La Boissière (de). Pin  
(Elz.). Raspail (Eug.). Reynaud-Lagardete.

VENDÉE. — Bouhier de l'Écluse. Defontaine (Guy). Gre-  
lier-Dufougeroux. Lespinay (de). Luneau. Mareau. Pa-  
renteau. Rouillé. Tinguy (de).

VIENNE. — Barthélemy. Bérenger. Bonnin. Bourbeau. Junyen. Pleignard. Drault. Jeudy.

HAUTE-VIENNE. — Allègre. Bac (Théodore). Brunet. Coralli. Dumas. Frichon. Maurat-Ballange. Tixier.

VOSGES. — Braux. Buffet. Doublat. Falatieu. Forel. Hingray. Houel. Huot. Najean. Turck. Boulay (de la Meurthe).

YONNE. — Carreau. Charton. Guichard. Larabit. Rampont. Rathier. Raudot. Robert (L.). Vaulabelle.

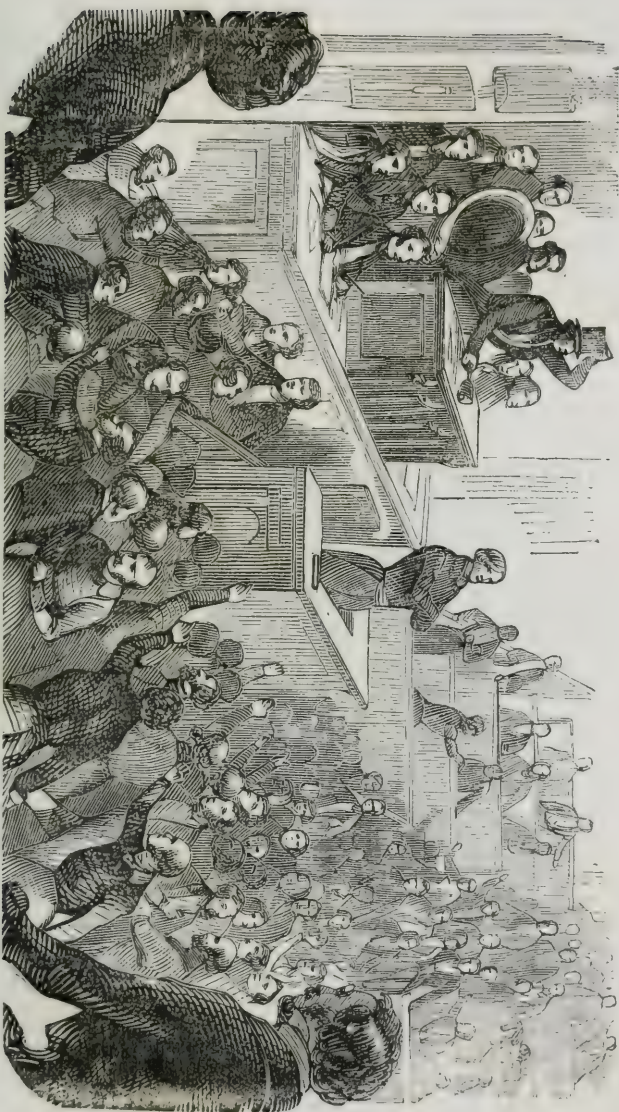
ALGÉRIE. — Barrot (Ferdinand). Didier. Prébois (de). Rancé (de).

MARTINIQUE. — Mazulime. Pory-Papy. Schœlcher.

GUADELOUPE. — Dain (Charles). Louisy-Mathieu. Périnon.

SENEGAL. — Durand-Valentin.

The National Assembly opened on the 4th of May. Never before had a solemnity more majestic in its simplicity installed the sovereignty of a great nation. The National Guard, the people, and some brilliant deputations from the army, summoned to Paris to assist at the return of sovereignty, were on their feet from the morning. The government, after meeting at the ministry of justice, advanced on foot through the boulevards in the centre of two lines of a hundred thousand men, and preceded by the general of the National Guard and his staff, which opened the crowd before the dictators, who were going to abdicate. The windows and roofs of the quarters traversed by the procession rang with shouts and acclamations. Never did a government making its entry into a capital, preceded by the enthusiastic hopes of an entire people, hear more acclamations rising round it, than this government, which would expire in an hour, received in its last moments. Its weaknesses, its faults, its inadequacy, and its illegitimacy, were forgotten. Its efforts were appreciated. Its disinterestedness was rewarded by gratitude. Its members assumed no striking designation. They were plain citizens, humbly clad, who had enjoyed the authority, but not the luxury, of power. They were pointed out, — Dupont de l'Eure on the right, then Lamartine on the left, then Louis Blanc, Arago, surrounded by the noble respect due to science and policy; Garnier Pagès, of antique simplicity and probity; Crémieux, Marie, Marrast, names respected for their services; Flocon, Ledru Rollin, Albert, names dearer to republicans of former date, who awakened more memories or hopes; Carnot and Bethmont, who, though only min-



SITTING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, MAY 4, 1848.



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isters, had shared the labors, dangers, and responsibilities of government. Each of these names received its share of gratitude or esteem. They were going to abdicate. They were no longer feared, — they were applauded.

## VI.

The government having been ushered into the hall, the nine hundred representatives received them standing. An immense shout of *Vive la République!* revealed to France that this government, provisionally voted on the 25th of February, by the presentiment of Paris, had been adopted and ratified, with unanimity and acclamation, by the mature reflection of the country.

Dupont de l'Eure, the president of the provisional government, ascended the tribune, and was received with the respect which attaches to long years devoted to one's country. In his person was seen one of those old men who bequeath institutions to the human family, and whose life Providence seems to prolong, that it may serve as a transition from one epoch to another.

"Citizens," said he, in a tone from which gravity did not exclude energy, "the provisional government of the republic comes here to bow before the nation, and to render homage to the sovereign power with which you are invested. At last the moment has come for the government to relinquish to your hands the unlimited power with which the revolution clothed it. You know whether this dictatorship has been for us anything beyond a moral power exercised in the midst of the difficult circumstances which the nation has just passed through. *Vive la République!*"

This cry, uttered by the lips of the old man, rang from echo to echo, from two hundred thousand voices, as far as the place de la Concorde. The cannon of the Invalides hailed it with salvos. Dupont de l'Eure descended from the tribune. He fell into the arms of Béranger, a wise and patient pioneer, like his friend, of the republic era, the Tyrtæus of the glory of our arms in his youth, the white-haired representative of the people, and moderator of his country.

The Assembly proceeded for three days to verify credentials, and chose for its president M. Buchez, in gratitude for the services he had rendered, and the courage he had displayed, during the three months of administration at the Hôtel de Ville.

On the 7th, Lamartine ascended the tribune, and in the place and name of the president of the provisional government, gave an account of the acts of the revolution, in the following terms : —

“CITIZEN-REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE :

“At the moment of your entrance on the exercise of your sovereignty — at the moment of our resigning into your hands the special powers with which the revolution provisionally invested us — we wish, in the first place, to render you an account of the situation in which we found ourselves, and in which you also find the nation.

“A revolution burst forth on the 24th of February. The people overthrew the throne. They swore upon its ruins thenceforth to reign alone, and entirely by themselves. They charged us to provide temporarily for the necessity of the interregnum which they had to traverse to reach, without disorder or anarchy, their unanimous and final power. Our first thought was to abridge this interregnum by immediately convoking the national representation, in which alone reside right and force. Simply citizens, without any other summons than public peril, without any other title than our devotedness, trembling to accept, hastening to restore the deposit of national destinies, we have had but one ambition, — that of resigning the dictatorship to the bosom of popular sovereignty.

“The throne overturned, the dynasty crumbling of itself, we did not proclaim the republic ; it proclaimed itself, by the voice of an entire people ; — we did nothing but register the cry of the nation.

“Our first thought, as well as the first requirement of the country, after the proclamation of the republic, was the reëstablishment of order and security in Paris. In this labor, — which would have been more difficult and more meritorious at another time and in another country, — we were aided by the concurrence of the citizens. While holding in one hand the musket which had just given the death-blow to royalty, this magnanimous people with the other raised up the vanquished and the wounded of the opposite party. They protected the life and property of the inhabitants. They preserved the public monuments. Each citizen of Paris was at once the soldier of liberty and the voluntary magistrate of order. History has recorded the innumerable acts of heroism, of probity, and disinterestedness, which have characterized these first days of the republic.

Till this time the people had sometimes been flattered by allusions to their virtues ; posterity, which is no flatterer, will find all these expressions beneath the dignity of the people of Paris in this crisis.

"It was they who inspired us with the first decree destined to give its true signification to victory, — the decree of the abolition of the penalty of death in political cases. They suggested, adopted, and ratified it, by the acclamation of two hundred thousand voices, on the square and quay of the Hôtel de Ville. Not a single exclamation of anger protested against it. France and Europe understood that God had his inspirations in the mass, and that a revolution inaugurated by grandeur of soul would be pure as an idea, magnanimous as a sentiment, and holy as a virtue.

"The red flag, presented for a moment, — not as a symbol of menace and disorder, but as a temporary flag of victory, — was laid aside by the combatants themselves, to cover the republic with that tri-colored flag which had shaded its cradle, and led the glory of our arms over every continent and every ocean.

"After having established the authority of government in Paris, it was necessary to make the republic recognized in the departments, the colonies, in Algeria, and the army. The telegraphic news and couriers were enough. France, her colonies and armies, recognized their own idea in the idea of the republic. There was no resistance from a single hand or voice, nor from one free heart in France, to the installation of the new government.

"Our second thought was for the exterior. Europe awaited, in doubt, the first word from France. This first word was the abolition, in fact and right, of the reactionary treaties of 1815 ; the restoration of liberty to our foreign policy ; the declaration of peace to the territories ; of sympathy to nations ; of justice, loyalty and moderation, to governments. France, in this manifesto, laid aside her ambition, but did not lay aside her ideas. She permitted her principle to shine out. This was all her warfare. The special report of the minister of foreign affairs will show you the fruits of this noonday system of diplomacy, and the legitimate and great fruits it must yield to the influences of France.

"This policy required the minister of war to employ measures in harmony with the system of armed negotiation. He energetically reestablished a discipline scarcely shaken, and



nonorably recalled to Paris the army, removed temporarily from our walls, that the people might have an opportunity of arming themselves. The people, henceforth invincible, did not delay summoning with loud cries their brethren of the army, not only as the safeguard, but as the ornament, of the capital. In Paris the army was only an honorary garrison, designed to prove to our brave soldiers that the capital of the country belongs to all her children.

"We decreed, moreover, the formation of four armies of observation: the army of the Alps, the army of the Rhine, the army of the north, and the army of the Pyrenees.

"Our navy — confided to the hands of the same minister, as a second army of France — was rallied under its commanders, in a discipline governed by a confidence in its vigilance. The fleet of Toulon sailed to display our colors to nations friendly to France on the shores of the Mediterranean.

"The army of Algiers had neither an hour nor a thought of hesitation. The republic and the country were united in their view by a feeling of the same duty. A leader, whose republican name, sentiments, and talents, were at once pledges for the army and the revolution, General Cavaignac, received the command of Algeria.

"The corruption which had penetrated the holiest institutions compelled the minister of war to adopt expurgations demanded by the public voice. It was necessary promptly to separate justice from policy. The minister made the separation with pain, but with inflexibility.

"In proclaiming the republic, the cry of France had not only proclaimed a form of government, but a principle. This principle was practical democracy, equality in rights, fraternity in institutions. The revolution accomplished by the people ought, according to us, to be organized for the profit of the people, by a series of fraternal and guardian institutions, proper to confer regularly on all the conditions of individual dignity, instruction, intelligence, wages, morality, the elements of labor, competence, aid and advancement to property, which would suppress the servile name of proletary, and would elevate the laborer to the level of the rights, duties, and well-being of the first-born of prosperity; to raise up and enrich the one, without debasing and degrading the other; to preserve property, and render it more prolific and sacred, by multiplying it and dividing it in the hands of the greatest number; distributing the taxes in such a manner as to make the burden fall heaviest on the strongest, by

easing and succoring the weakest ; to create by the state the labor which might accidentally fail, from the fact of the timidity of capital, so that there should not be a laborer in France whose bread and wages should fail him ; and, finally, to study with the workmen themselves the practical and true phenomena of association, and the yet problematical theories of systems, and to seek conscientiously their applications, and to ascertain their errors ; — such was the idea of the provisional government, in all the decrees ; whose execution or examination it confided to the minister of finance, the minister of public works, and to the commissioner of the Luxembourg, — the laboratory of ideas, the preparatory and statistical congress of labor and employment, enlightened by studious and intelligent delegates from all the laborious professions, presided over by two members of the government itself.

“The sudden fall of the monarchy, the disorder of the finances, the momentary displacement of an immense mass of factory laborers, the shocks which these masses of unoccupied arms might have given society, if their reason, their patience and their practical resignation, had not been a miracle of popular reason, and the admiration of the world ; the recoverable debt of nearly a thousand millions, which the fallen government had accumulated on the first two months of the republic ; the industrial and commercial crisis universal on the continent and in England, coinciding with the political crisis in Paris ; the enormous accumulation of railway shares and other fictitious property thrown into the hands of agents and bankers by the panic of capital ; finally, the imagination of the country, which is carried beyond the truth at moments of political convulsion and social terror, — had exhausted active capital, caused the disappearance of specie, and suspended free and voluntary labor, the only labor sufficient for thirty-five millions of men. It was necessary to supply it temporarily, or be false to all the principles, all the precautions, and all the necessities of the republic that can be relieved. The minister of finance will tell you how this prostration of labor and credit was provided for, while waiting for the moment now reached, when the restoration of confidence to men's minds would restore capital to the hands of manufacturers, and wages to labor ; when your wisdom and national power will be equal to all difficulties.

“The ministry of public instruction and worship, confided to the same hand, was for the government a manifestation of intention, and for the country a presage of the new position

which the republic wished and ought to assume, under the twofold necessity of national enlightenment, and a more real independence of equal and free worship before conscience and the law.

"The ministry of agriculture and commerce, a ministry foreign from its nature to politics, could only prepare with zeal, and sketch with sagacity, the new institutions summoned to fertilize the first of useful arts. It extended the hand of state over the suffering interests of commerce, which you alone can raise up by making them secure.

"Such were our different and incessant cares. Thanks to that Providence, which has never more clearly manifested its intervention in the cause of nations and the human mind; thanks to the people themselves, who have never better shown the treasures of reason, civil virtue, generosity, patience and morality,—the true civilization which fifty years of imperfect liberty have elaborated in their hearts,—we succeeded in accomplishing, very imperfectly without doubt, but yet not unhappily, a part of the immense and perilous task with which events had burthened us.

"We have founded the republic, a government declared impossible in France on any other conditions than foreign war, civil war, anarchy, prisons, and the scaffold. We have displayed a republic, happily compatible with European peace, with internal security, with voluntary order, with individual liberty, with the sweetness and amenity of manners of a nation for whom hatred is a punishment, and harmony a national instinct.

"We have promulgated the great principles of equality, fraternity, and unity, which must, in their daily development in our laws, enacted by all and for all, accomplish the unity of the people by the unity of representation.

"We have rendered the right of citizenship universal, by rendering the right of election universal; and universal suffrage has responded to us.

"We have armed the entire people in the National Guard, and the entire people have answered us by devoting the arms we confided to it to the unanimous defence of the nation, order and law.

"We have gone through the interregnum with no other executive force than the entirely unarmed moral authority, whose right the nation voluntarily recognized in us; and these peo-

ple consented to suffer themselves to be governed by our words, our counsels, and their own generous inspirations.

"We have passed more than two months of crisis, of cessation of labor, of misery, of elements of political agitation, of social sufferings and passions, accumulated in countless masses in a capital with a population of a million and a half, without property having been violated, without anger menacing a single life, without one repression, one proscription, one political imprisonment, without one drop of blood shed in our name, saddening the government in Paris. We can descend from this long dictatorship to the public square, and mingle with the people, without one citizen being able to ask, 'What hast thou done with a citizen?'

"Before summoning the National Assembly to Paris, we completely assured its security and independence, by arming and organizing the National Guard, and giving you an entire armed people for your protection. There is no longer a possibility of faction in a republic where there is no longer a division between enfranchised and disfranchised citizens, between armed and unarmed citizens. All have their rights, all have their army. In such a State insurrection is no longer the extreme right of resistance to oppression; it would be a crime. He who separates himself from the people is no longer of the people. This is the unanimity we have created; perpetuate it, for it is the common safety.

"Citizen-representatives! our work is accomplished; yours now begins. Even the presentation of a plan of government, or a project of constitution, on our part, would have been a rash prolongation of power, or an infringement on your sovereignty. We disappear the moment you rise to receive the republic from the hands of the people. We will only permit ourselves a single counsel and a single wish, in the name of our citizenship, and not as members of the provisional government. This wish, citizens, France utters with us; it is the voice of circumstance. Do not waste time, that precious element of human crises. After having absorbed the sovereignty in yourselves, do not suffer a new interregnum to clog the wheels of the country. Let not a commission of government, springing from your body, allow power to fluctuate a single instant longer, precariously and provisionally, in a country which has need of power and security. Let a committee on a constitution, emanating from your suffrages, report, without delay, for your deliberation and vote, the simple, brief and democratic



mechanism of a constitution, whose organic and secondary laws you can afterwards discuss at your leisure.

"In the mean while, as members of the government, we restore to you our powers.

"We also confidently submit all our acts to your judgment, only we pray you to take into consideration the period and the difficulties. Our conscience reproaches us with nothing intentionally wrong. Providence has favored our efforts. Grant an amnesty to our involuntary dictatorship. We ask but to return to the ranks of good citizens.

"Only may history record with indulgence, beneath and at a great distance from the great deeds achieved by France, the story of these three months, passed in the void between a fallen monarchy and a republic to be enthroned; and may it, instead of the obscure and forgotten names of men who devoted themselves to the common safety, inscribe on its pages two names only: the name of the people, who saved everything, and the name of God, who blessed everything, in the foundation of the republic."

## VII.

These words were received with almost unanimous applause by the representatives and the galleries.

Lamartine, having returned to his bench, was obliged to rise three times and bow to the Assembly, which had itself risen as he passed. Everything indicated that the popularity attached to his name in Paris, and characterized by two million three hundred thousand votes in the departments, would continue to surround him in the National Assembly, if he did not himself lay it aside.

Each minister in succession brought to the tribune and read a special report of the acts of his department. All were sanctioned by the applause of the Assembly. Lamartine displayed, more fully than his colleagues, a picture of the position of the new republic with regard to Europe.

France was looking for this picture as impatiently as she had looked for the manifesto to Europe. She knew that her internal destiny depended on her attitude abroad. She was burning to obtain an account of it, to enable her to prognosticate the future. The discourse of the minister follows. It was his manifesto in practice, verified by three months of proof.

"Citizens," said he, "there are two sorts of revolutions in history: revolutions of territory, and revolutions of ideas. The former are summed up in conquests, and the overthrow of nationality and empires; the latter result in institutions. To the first, war is necessary; to the second, peace, the mother of institutions of labor and of liberty, is precious and dear. Yet sometimes the changes of institutions effected by a nation within its own limits become the cause of anxiety and aggression against it on the part of other nations and other governments, whence arises a crisis of convulsion and irritation among neighboring nations. A law of nature wills that truths shall be contagious, and that ideas shall tend to assume their level, like water. In the latter case, these revolutions participate, so to speak, of the two natures of movements which we have noticed. They are pacific, like the revolutions of ideas; they may be forced to have recourse to arms, like territorial revolutions. Their external attitude should correspond to these two exigences of their situation. They are inoffensive, but they are erect. Their policy may be defined in two words, an armed diplomacy.

"These considerations, citizens, from the first hour of the republic, have determined the acts and words of the provisional government in the whole, and in the details of the direction of our external affairs. It desired, and declared that it desired, three things: the republic in France; the natural progress of liberal principles and avowed democracy, recognized and defended in its existence, its right, and its time; and, finally, peace, if peace were possible, honorable, and sure, on these conditions.

"We are about to show you what, from the day of the foundation of the republic to the present, have been the practical results of this attitude of disinterested devotion to the democratic principle in Europe, combined with this respect for the material inviolability of territories, nationalities, and governments. It is the first time in history that an unarmed and purely spiritual principle has been presented to Europe, organized, armed, and allied by another principle, which the political world is shaking and modifying of itself, before the power, not of a nation, but an idea. To measure the power of this idea in its full extent, let us go back to 1815.

"1815 is a date which it costs France an effort to recall. After the assault of the coalition against the republic; after the prodigies of the convention, and the explosion of armed France

to repel the league of powers inimical to the revolution ; after the expiation of the conquests of the empire, of which France would claim the glory, the reaction of violated nationalities and humiliated kings came upon us. The name of France had ceased to have limits. The territorial limits of geographical France were again narrowed by the treaties of 1814 and 1815. They seemed disproportioned to the name, the security, and the moral power, of a nation which had increased so much in influence, in renown, and liberty. The basis of the French people seemed so much the more restricted, since that people itself had become greater.

"The treaty of 1814, which settled our glory and our misfortunes, had taken from us in colonies Tobago, Saint-Lucie, the Isle of France and its dependencies, the Seychelles, French India reduced to purely nominal proportions ; and lastly, Saint Domingo, of which we were in fact dispossessed, and would be forced to re-purchase or re-conquer.

"In territory annexed to the national soil, the treaty of 1814 added on the north, as a compensation to France, some strips of frontier, consisting of about ten cantons, added to the departments of the Moselle and Ardennes ; on the east, a precinct of some districts about Landau ; on the south, the principal part of Savoy, consisting of the arrondissements of Chambéry and d'Annecy ; finally, the county of Montbéliard, Mulhouse, and the German territory enclosed within the line of our frontiers.

"The treaties of 1815, reprisals for the hundred days of glory and reverses, stripped us almost immediately of these feeble indemnities for the wars of the coalition. They restored French Savoy entire to Sardinia ; they almost made Lyons, the commercial capital of France, a garrisoned city, exposed and fortified. Belgium assumed from our old soil Philippeville, Marienburg, and the Duchy of Bouillon, where she had formerly the right of occupation and garrison ; Prussia, Sarreburg, whose heart alone remained French ; Bavaria, some districts ; Switzerland, that tongue of land at Gex, which gave us a port on the Lake of Geneva, at Versoix ; the demolition of the fortifications of Huninquen, with an entire interdiction of fortifying our frontier at less than three leagues' distance from Bâle. Finally, they made us renounce, in favor of the King of Sardinia, the right of protection and garrison we possessed, before the revolution, over the principality of Monaco. A humiliating occupation of our strong places, and an indemnity of nearly ten hundred millions, the penalty of our triumphs, deci-

mated both the external and the reproductive power of the nation. The restoration accepted the throne on these conditions. It was its fault, and its destruction. Peace, and the charter itself, that corner-stone of liberty, were not a sufficient compensation for it. A dynasty could not increase with impunity from the weakness of the country. Still, only considering the domestic interests of the nation, the Holy Alliance was an anti-popular, but not essentially an anti-French, system.

"The dynasty of the elder branch of the Bourbons, in allying itself as a dynasty to this system, might find it a point of support for its legitimate interest, or for the complements of territory around it. If Italy, over which Austria was resolved to rule alone, forbade the French cabinet all solid and sympathetic alliance with Austria, the Russian alliance was open to France. This alliance, favorable to the oriental aggrandizement of Russia, whose inclination is towards the east, might give to the continental equilibrium, whose axis would have been Germany, two equal and preponderating weights, at St. Petersburg and Paris. The restoration had sometimes a confused plan of these thoughts. It dared acknowledge friends and enemies. It felt itself sustained against the jealousies of Great Britain by the continental spirit. With this secret support, it perseveringly contested the supremacy of Austria in Italy, made an unpopular but not anti-French war on Spain, and conquered Algiers. Its diplomacy was less anti-national than its policy.

"The revolution of July—a revolution born before its time—constituted a revolutionary monarchy and a republican royalty. France had entire confidence in her ideas. The character of this revolution, at once incomplete and contradictory, gave the government, that sprang up in three days, the troubles of dynastic royalty, without the advantages of legitimate royalty. It was still the Holy Alliance, without the dogma and the king; a monarchy stained with an elective and republican principle in the eyes of kings; a republic suspected of monarchy and treason to the democratic principle in the eyes of the people.

"The foreign and domestic policy of this mixed government must be, within and without, a perpetual struggle between the two contrary principles which it represented. The dynastic interest commanded it to enter at all cost into the family of classed dynasties. It was necessary to purchase this tolerance of thrones by incessant compliances. It was necessary to conquer at home the right of being weak abroad; hence the sys-



tem of the government of July,—a France degraded to the rank of a secondary power in Europe, an oligarchy purchased by dint of favors and seductions at home. One involved the other; the more as the spirit of family, a domestic virtue, may become a political vice in the head of a nation. Nepotism kills patriotism.

“The monarchy of July weighed upon our foreign policy with the weight of the thrones and relationships it was preparing for its princes. One alone of these ideas was correct, because it corresponded with a great need of humanity—peace! It was on this thought alone it existed for seventeen years. But the peace which suits France is not that subaltern peace which purchases days and years by belittling itself, and adjourning its influences, and veiling its principles, restricting the name and shortening the arms of France. This humbles while it weakens a people.

“That peace may be worthy of her, the republic should grow great by peace. Now, to increase in Europe, there was wanting to the monarchy of July the standard of an idea. Its monarchical standard! That was stained by usurpation. Its democratic standard! It hid it and disavowed it constantly.

“Its foreign policy was forced to be colorless, like its principles. It was a policy of negation. It avoided perils; it could not affect grandeur.

“Here was the rule without. The kingdom of Holland broke in two by the recoil of the days of July. Half formed, that neutral and intermediate power became, so advantageously for France, the kingdom of Belgium. No other modification in the territorial circumstances of Europe, for the benefit of France, took place during these eighteen years.

“Russia showed a constant and personal repugnance, which was not addressed to France herself, but was reflected from the dynasty on the nation. In vain did the most pressing interests of Russia draw her towards a French alliance. The antipathy of kings interposed between the sympathies of nations. This court employed in violently assimilating itself to Poland, and patiently seeking a road to the Indies by way of the Caucasus, the eighteen years of the monarchy of July.

“Austria, by turns, caressed and insulted it. France, thus caressed and repulsed by the skilful but aged hand of Prince Metternich, sacrificed the whole of Italy and the confederated states of Germany to the smiles of the court of Vienna. In 1831, insurrection suppressed by concert in Italy; in 1846,

Cracow effaced from the map, measured the always descending scale of these obsequious yieldings of the cabinet of the Tuileries to the policy of Austria.

"Prussia, whose security and grandeur lie in the French alliance, made a desperate and unnatural alliance with Russia. She thus constituted herself the vanguard of the Russian power against Germany, of which she is the outpost. By this she lost the Germanic popularity which the great Frederic had left her.

"The states of the confederation of the Rhine, thus neglected by Prussia, intimidated by Austria, and harassed by Russia, floated between the Prussian and Austrian alliances, according to time and circumstance; repulsed from the French alliance by remembrances of 1813, and by the connivance of the cabinet of the Tuileries, which abandoned them to Austrian omnipotence. But during the oscillations of these secondary states of the Germanic confederation, a third estate, that germ of democracy, was formed in Germany. It only waited for development the occasion of the emancipation of the secondary states, and the return of the French idea to the true principles of alliance and friendship with the German states of the Rhine.

"The low countries, irritated at the dismemberment of Belgium, preserved, out of resentment, prejudices against France. They joined Russia on the continent, and England on the ocean. By these two titles France was excluded from their system of alliance.

"What were our relations with England? Her policy, entirely maritime before the revolution, was at once maritime and continental from the war of 1848 in Spain, and from 1813 everywhere. Without repugnance to the dynasty of July, England had lent this royalty a useful concurrence in the conferences of London in 1830 and 1831. By the species of continental mediation she had exercised between France, Germany, and Russia, England had maintained the equilibrium of the continent. This equilibrium was peace. M. de Talleyrand had converted this peace into a draught of an alliance on the liberal constitutional principle: this is what has been called the quadruple alliance between France, England, Spain, and Portugal. If the germ had not been stifled at its origin; if it had been developed energetically by extension to Italy, Switzerland, and the German Rhenish provinces, it might have changed to a system of liberal progress for the nations of the south and east, and cre-

ated a family of democratic nations and governments invulnerable to the absolute powers. But, to accomplish this, France required a government which dared avow its principle. The court of the Tuileries only labored to efface its own, or cause it to be forgotten. Purely dynastic ambitions, conceived and often revealed by the French government in relation to Spain, did not long delay the ruin of that British alliance solicited by so many favors, and betrayed by so much egotism, to the detriment of France and free nations.

"The eastern question, on which the policy of the world turned from 1838 to 1841, was the first occasion of coldness, soon followed by diplomatic conflict and bitterness, between the two governments. You are acquainted with that negotiation, which shook peace, armed Europe, and ended in the shame and sequestration of France.

"The Ottoman empire was decomposed. The Pacha of Egypt, profiting by its weakness, invaded half the empire, substituting Arabic for Turkish tyranny. The vacancy sunk in the east by the disappearance of Turkey was about to be crowned inevitably, either by Islamism under another name, that of Ibrahim, or by Russian or British omnipotence. France had three ways of meeting and deciding the oriental question: either frankly to sustain the Ottoman empire against the revolted pacha and the whole world; or to ally herself with Russia, by yielding to her leaning towards Constantinople, and to obtain at this price a Russian alliance and territorial compensations on the Rhine; or to ally herself with England, by yielding her precedence in Egypt, her necessary road to the Indies, and regaining the English alliance at this price, receiving in exchange continental advantages, and important French protectorships in Egypt.

"The cabinet of the Tuileries knew not how to be frank, and dared not be ambitious. It abandoned Turkey to her aggressor, then abandoned this aggressor himself to Russia, to England, and to Austria. It reconstructed, by its own folly, the moral coalition of the world against us. All ended in the exclusion of the French cabinet from Europe, and the note of the 8th of October, a confession of weakness after acts of defiance, an acceptance of isolation in the midst of Europe bound together in one sheaf of resentment against us.

"The treaty of reconciliation of the 30th of July, 1841, vainly palliated this position. The marriage of a prince of the French dynasty with an eventual heiress of the Spanish

crown was thenceforth the only idea of the dynastic policy, to which France was rendered subordinate. The accomplishment of this object must soon have severed the last bonds of friendship between England and France. Too little ambitious for the French nation, the cabinet of the Tuileries aimed at two thrones at once for one family. The posthumous policy of the house of Bourbon was rashly substituted for the policy of liberty and peace upon the continent. France reaped nothing from this marriage but the lasting enmity of the British cabinet, the jealousy of courts, the suspicions of Spain, and the certainty of a second war of succession. From this first vertigo of royalty, statesmen might conjecture other approaching vertiges, and foresee its fall.

"New symptoms, before a great while, confirmed this. Suspected by Spain, odious to Russia, dishonored in Turkey, indifferent to Prussia, and menacing to England, the dynastic policy of the French cabinet turned, against nature, to Austria. This perversity cost it not only its greatness and security; it cost it its honor. To obtain from Austria the pardon of the house of Bourbon in Spain, it became necessary to lower the standard of revolution before Austria everywhere, and to sacrifice to her at once Italy, Switzerland, the Rhine,—the independence and the rights of nations. It was necessary to form with Austria the league of absolutism, by choking, to her profit and our shame, the germs of independence, liberalism, and national strength, which showed themselves from the straits of Sicily to the heart of the Alps. The French cabinet ventured to practise this servile policy, and to defend it before a French Chamber. The revolutionary heart of France rose with indignation in her bosom. The dynastic ministry purchased the vote of a majority for selling with impunity the national principle and the democratic principle, in the negotiations relative to Switzerland and Italy. A few days afterwards, it dragged into the abyss that royalty which had itself dragged it down in its personality.

"Thus, after eighteen years of reign, and of a diplomacy which was thought skilful because it was interested, the dynasty surrendered France to the republic, more encircled, more bound by treaties and limits, more incapable of motion, more denuded of external influences and negotiations, more surrounded by snares and impossibilities, than she had been at any epoch of the monarchy; imprisoned in the letter of the treaties of 1815, so often violated against her; excluded from



all the east ; an accomplice of Austria in Italy and Switzerland ; subservient to England, at Lisbon ; compromised, without advantage, at Madrid ; obsequious at Vienna ; timid at Berlin ; hated at St. Petersburg ; discredited, through ambiguous faith, at London ; deserted by nations for her abandonment of the democratic principle before a moral coalition everywhere formed against France, and which only left her the choice of an extreme war against all, or the acceptance of the subaltern part of a secondary power, watched throughout the European world ; condemned to languish and bend for a century under the weight of a dynasty for pardoning kings, or a revolutionary principle for obtaining amnesty, or betraying nations.

"The republic, finding France in these conditions of isolation and subjection, had two parts to assume : — to make an outbreak against all the thrones and territories of the continent, — to rend the map of Europe, declare war, and launch the armed democratic principle everywhere, without knowing whether it would fall upon a soil prepared for its germination, or an improper soil, there to be choked in blood ; or to declare republican peace and French fraternity to all nations, — to declare respect for the governments, laws, characters, manners and wishes, of territories and nations, — to raise on high, but with a friendly hand, her principle of independence and democracy over the world, and to speak to the nations without constraint, and without hurrying events.

"We do not arm the new idea with fire and steel, like barbarians. We only arm it with its own lustre. We do not impose on any one forms or imitations premature or incompatible, perhaps, with nature ; but if the liberty of this or that part of Europe kindles from ours, if enthralled nationalities, if trampled rights, if legitimate and oppressed independencies arise, establish themselves, enter into the democratic family of nations, and appeal to us to defend their rights, in conformity with institutions, France is there. Republican France is not only the country, she is the soldier, of the democratic principle in the future.

"It is this last policy, citizens, which the provisional government thought it ought to adopt unanimously, while waiting till the nation, embodied in you, should take its own destinies into its own hands.

"What have been the results of this policy of armed diplomacy, upon the continent, during seventy-two days ? You

know them, and Europe beholds them with an astonishment that belongs less to fear than to admiration.

"Italy, already stirred in its patriotism by the Italian and democratic soul of Pius IX., shakes successively, but throughout, at the echo of the triumph of the people of Paris. Satisfied wholly with regard to French ambition, loudly and frankly disavowed by us, she passionately embraces our principles, and abandons herself, with confidence, to the future of independence and liberty, in which the French people will be her ally.

"Sicily rises against the domination of Naples, claiming at first her constitution. Irritated by refusal, she heroically reconquers her soil and her citadels; tardy concessions appease her no longer; she separates herself completely, and convokes her own parliament. She proclaims herself sole mistress of her destinies. She avenges herself for her long subjection to the house of Bourbon, by declaring that the princes of the house of Naples shall be forever excluded from the contingencies of the constitutional throne of Sicily.

"At Naples, even the constitution promulgated by the king, on the eve of the French republic, appears illusory the next morning. The monarchy, besieged by demonstrations of the people, descends, from concession to concession, to the level of a democratic royalty of 1791.

"Pius IX., accepting the character of an Italian patriot, retains only the pontifical sway, and makes Rome the federative centre of a true republic, of which he already shows himself less the crowned chief than the foremost citizen. He makes use of the force of the movement which bears him along, instead of contending against it. This movement is accelerating.

"Tuscany follows the example. Palermo, Placenzia, Modena, strive vainly to rest upon Austria, to struggle with the spirit of life in Italy. Their princes yield; nationality triumphs. The dynasty of Lucca is swept away. Venice proclaims her own republic, undecided yet whether she shall isolate herself in her lagunes, or join the republican or constitutional fasces of northern Italy.

"The King of Sardinia, long the hope of national unity in Italy, while at the same time his government was the terror of the liberal spirit at Turin, in contact with the French revolution, has put an end to a contradiction fatal to his greatness. By a popular constitution, he gives a pledge to Italian liberalism.

"Lombardy, by this token, knows that the hour of her independence has come. Milan, disarmed, triumphs in an unequal

struggle with the army of occupation that enchains her. The whole of Lombardy rises against the house of Austria. As yet she only proclaims her enfranchisement, that she may not mingle a question of institution with a question of war. The cry of Italy compels the King of Sardinia to disengage himself, like the Pope, and like Tuscany, from the old anti-national treaties with Austria. He marches into Lombardy; contingents pour from all quarters upon this field of battle. The campaign of independence is pursued slowly by Italy alone, but in the face of armed Switzerland and France, ready to act if the interest of their principle or the safety of their frontiers should seem compromised.

"Cross the Alps; the result of the unarmed policy of France is not less logically developed there by events and rapidity in results. They burst forth from the very focus of the opposite principle.

"After the fourteenth of March, the revolution breaks forth at Vienna. The troops are vanquished, the palace of the emperors is opened to the people, to expel the old system from it, in the person of its most inflexible statesman, Prince Metternich. The assembly of the notables of the monarchy is convoked; every liberty armed by democracy is granted; Hungary becomes national, and isolates itself by an almost complete separation from the empire, abolishes feudal rights, sells ecclesiastical property, and nominates a ministry for herself. As a token of complete separation, she even gives herself a ministry of foreign affairs.

"Bohemia, on her part, makes sure of a separate federal constitution.

"By these three different enfranchisements of Hungary, Bohemia, and Italy, Austria, revolutionized within, restrained without, reigns over only twelve millions of compact men.

"Three days after the events in Vienna, on the eighteenth of March, the people fight and triumph in the streets of Berlin. The King of Prussia, whose enlightened spirit and popular heart seemed on terms of intelligence even with those who fought against his soldiers, hastens to yield everything. An entirely democratic law of election is promulgated, even before the constituent assembly has met. Prussian Poland claims its nationality distinct from Posen. The king consents, and thus commences to sketch the first draught of a Polish nationality, which other events will have to increase and strengthen in another quarter.

"In the kingdom of Wirtemberg the king abolishes the censorship on the third of March, and yields the liberty of the press and the arming of the people.

"On the fourth of March, the Grand Duke of Baden, too near a neighbor to France not to permit ideas which cross the Rhine to take their level, grants the liberty of the press, the armament of the people, the abolition of feudal rights, and finally the promise of concurring in the establishment of a united German parliament, that congress of Germanic democracy from which, perhaps, the new order may go forth.

"On the fifth of March, the King of Bavaria abdicates, and, after fighting in the streets, gives up the throne to the prince, who unites his cause with the popular cause at Munich.

"From the sixth to the eleventh of March, a similar abdication of the sovereign of Hesse-Darmstadt; arming of the people, the rights of association, the press, and the jury, and a French code at Mayenne, are all granted.

"The Elector of Hesse-Cassel, whose resistance to the introduction of the democratic principle was notorious in Germany, grants his armed people the same pledges, and adds the concession of the principle of a German parliament.

"The insurrection extorts from the Duke of Nassau the suppression of tithes, political organization, the armament of the people, the German parliament.

"On the fifteenth of March, Leipsic rises, and obtains from the King of Saxony, already a constitutional prince, his accession to the principle of the German parliament.

"On the same day, an imperious popular demonstration compels the Prince of Oldenburg to convoke a representation.

"The people of Mecklenburg arm a few days after, and appoint a preparatory assembly to elect the German parliament.

"Hamburg adds a more democratic reform to her constitution, already republican.

"Bremen reforms her senate, and adheres to the German parliament.

"Lubec, after violent commotions, wins the same principle.

"Finally, on the eighteenth of March, the King of the Netherlands abolishes institutions restricting liberty in the grand duchy of Luxembourg, where the tri-colored flag floats by itself as a spontaneous demonstration of the French principle.

"All these decompositions of the old system, all these elements of federal unity, are now combined at Frankfort.

"Up to this date the Diet of Frankfort had been the obedient instrument of the omnipotence of the two great Germanic powers, Vienna and Berlin, over their feeble allies of the confederation. The idea of a parliament seating itself in permanence



in the heart of Germany, rises to contact with our ideas. This parliament of nations, henceforth representing nations instead of courts, becomes the foundation of a new Germanic federation, which emancipates the weak, and forms the corner-stone of a varied but single democracy. The increasing democratic liberty of Germany will necessarily rest its support on a democratic power also, with no other ambition than the alliance of principles and the safety of territories; this is naming France.

"I will not follow into the other States of Europe the more or less rapid march of national principles and liberal principles, accelerated by the revolution of February. Ideas invade their soil everywhere, and these ideas bear your name. Everywhere you have only to choose between a safe and honorable peace, or a partial war with nations for allies.

"Thus, by the sole fact of a double principle, the democratic principle and the sympathetic principle, France, externally resting one hand on the rights of nations, and the other on the inaggressive but imposing body of four armies of observation, witnesses the shaking of the continent equally without ambition and weakness, ready to negotiate or fight, to limit or expand herself, according to her honor and the security of her frontiers.

"Her frontiers? I employ a word which has lost a portion of its significance under the republic; it is principle which becomes the true frontier of France. It is not her soil which enlarges, but her influence, her sphere of radiation and attraction on the continent; the number of her allies, the disinterested and intellectual patronage she will exercise over nations; it is the French system, in fine, substituted in three days and three months for the system of the Holy Alliance.

"The republic, at the first word, has comprehended the new policy which the philosophy, the humanity, and reason, of the age was at length to introduce by the hands of our country among nations. I would have no other proof that democracy has been a divine inspiration, and that it will triumph in Europe as rapidly and gloriously as it has triumphed at Paris. France will have changed her glory; — that is all.

"If a few minds, yet behindhand in the understanding of true strength and true grandeur, or impatient to press on the fortune of France, should reproach the republic with not having done violence to nations by offering them at the point of the bayonet a liberty which would have resembled conquest, we will say to them: See what a royalty of eighteen years

did for France; see what the republic has done, in less than three months! Compare the France of the 23d of July with the France of the 6th of May; and take even patience for glory, and grant time to the principle which labors, combats, transforms and assimilates the world for you!

"France externally was imprisoned by limits which she could only break through by a general war. Europe, in nations and governments, was a system of one piece against us; we had five great powers, compact and united by a common anti-revolutionary interest, against France. Spain was placed as the prize of war between these powers and ourselves. Switzerland was betrayed, Italy sold, Germany threatened and hostile. France was obliged to veil her popular nature and belittle herself, for fear of agitating a nation, or disturbing a king. She sunk under a dynastic peace and disappeared from the rank of primary national individualities, a rank which her geography, nature, and genius, command her to maintain.

"This weight lifted off, behold what a different destiny republican peace creates for her. The great powers watch, first with anxiety, but soon with security, the slightest of her movements. Not one of them protests against the eventual and legitimate revision of the treaties of 1815, which a word from us has as thoroughly obliterated as the march of a hundred thousand men. England can no longer suspect us of ambition in Spain. Russia has time to reflect on the disinterested question which arises between that great empire and ourselves,—the constitutional reconstruction of independent Poland. We can have no conflict at the north, except in defending there, as devoted auxiliaries, the rights and safety of the Slavonic and Germanic nations. The empire of Austria only treats touching the ransom of Italy. Prussia renounces aggrandizement except through liberty. The whole of Germany is escaping from the influence of these powers, and forms a natural alliance with us. There is an approaching coalition of nations reclining from necessity on France, instead of being turned against us, as they were by the policy of courts. Switzerland is strengthening, by concentrating herself. The whole of Italy is up, and almost free. A cry of distress would summon France thither, not to conquer, but protect her. The only conquest we would have beyond the Rhine and the Alps is the friendship of disenthralled communities.

"In a word, we were thirty-six millions of men isolated on the continent; no European idea was allowed us, no collective

action was possible for us. Our system was compression. Our horizon was narrow; air as well as dignity was wanting to our policy. Our system now is the system of a democratic truth, which enlarges to the proportions of a universal social faith. Our horizon is the future of civilized nations; our vital air is the breath of liberty in the free bosoms of the whole universe. Three months have not yet rolled away, and if Democracy, like Protestantism, must have its thirty years' war, instead of marching at the head of thirty-six millions of men, France, reckoning in her system of allies Switzerland, Italy, and the emancipated nations of Germany, will march at the head of eighty-eight millions of confederates and friends. What victory could the republic have gained equivalent in value to such a confederation, won without the cost of a single life, and cemented by the conviction of our disinterestedness? France, by the fall of royalty, has risen from her abasement, as a vessel loaded with a foreign weight rises as soon as she is lightened.

"Such, citizens, is the exact picture of our actual external position. The happiness and glory of this situation belong entirely to the republic. We only accept its responsibility, and we shall always felicitate ourselves on having appeared before the representation of the country to restore it peace, and assure it grandeur, with its hands full of alliances, and unstained with human blood."

Long salvos of applause followed this discourse. Its publication and transmission to all the departments and foreign powers was called for.

The Assembly voted that the provisional government had deserved well of the nation.

### VIII.

While Paris was intoxicated with the security and joy inspired by the restoration of national sovereignty and the harmony existing between the representatives and the dictators, a great question rose in the public mind, and particularly in the heart of Lamartine.

There was an interval to pass between the accession of the National Assembly and the vote on the constitution. Who should decree the form of the new executive power? What should be the nature of this intervening power? Should the dictators continue to exercise it, in the presence and under the sanction of the Assembly? Should the Assembly exercise it

directly, and through the medium of committees of government constantly renewed? Finally, should the Assembly delegate it? And, in this case, should it delegate it to one or many? Such were the three hypotheses which divided opinion.

The first plan? That was a continuance of the dictatorship. The second? That was anarchy and confusion of power. The third alone was practicable. The necessity of delegating powers by the Assembly was recognized by almost unanimous accord. But beyond that point there was a division of opinion. Some — and these were men recently arrived in Paris, the least informed on the state of affairs, the most impatient for a return to ancient forms — wished the Assembly to appoint a single temporary dictator, a prime minister at the same time, who should appoint the other ministers, and govern for the body.

The smaller number wished the Assembly to appoint by vote a council or executive commission of government, an intermediate and fixed power between the Assembly and the administration. This committee should appoint and dismiss ministers. It should be, while waiting for the constitution, no longer a dictatorship, but the collective presidency of the republic.

This question particularly interested Lamartine; and it was to him alone that its resolution really belonged. France, Paris, the Assembly, and Europe, had their eyes at this moment upon him. Men waited for his resolve, some to applaud and encourage him to the dictatorship, others to accuse and curse him if he did not accept the part the immense majority decreed him.

He could not avoid seeing that his popularity in Paris had increased, amounting to a passion, instead of having been exhausted by three months of fortunate government in the midst of so many storms; that the ten elections which had just impressed him with a sort of title as a universal representative, that the seven or eight millions of votes thrown by the whole surface of the republic, and finally the favor of six or seven hundred out of nine hundred representatives, designated him, and imposed him, so to speak, on the choice of the Assembly, as the man of the emergency, and the only and predestined chief of power.

He knew better than any one else, after the experience of a divided and stormy government, the advantages of the unity of the temporary power in one hand. He was sensible of pos-



sessing the strength, and believed he had the prudence, necessary to manage this power mildly and firmly, to the satisfaction of the Assembly. He alone held the clue of Europe. He flattered himself he should give the Assembly an immense ascendancy without kindling war, and by a single energetic gesture prepared and accomplished opportunely beyond the Alps. The popularity of all good public sentiment which attached to him touched him more than it inflated him. He blushed at having the appearance of ingratitude to his country, by coldly refusing its summons. The glory of installing the National Assembly, after having called it forth, and of being the first legal power, after having been the first revolutionary power, of his country, tempted him. The reputation of founder and protector of the nascent constitution appeared to him seductive and luminous in the distance of history.

He felt, therefore, so far as he was concerned, only an inclination to the part. But ambition and glory did not stifle his good sense and honesty. He thought, above all things, of the republic and his country. And here is what he said to himself, and replied to his counsellors, during three or four sleepless nights passed in communing with himself before his conscience and the future:—

“The republican feeling is feeble in France. This sentiment is ill represented in Paris and the departments by men who repulse the republic, and who hold it up to the horror and dread of the people. The republic is a surprise which we have made a miracle, by the wisdom of the people of Paris, and the character of mildness, unanimity, and concord, wherewith we have stamped it. But impressions are fickle and brief with the people, particularly in France. No sooner will the majority of the people, who rushed with the enthusiasm of fear into the bosom of a moderate republic, have recovered their self-possession, than they will attack their salvation, and turn against the republicans. If there are no republicans of ancient date then in the government, or if these republicans, already few, are divided in the face of their common enemies, what will become of the republic? And if the republic, the only existing refuge of society, yields to the precarious and factitious restorations of exhausted monarchies, what will become of France? The republicans must not, therefore, at any price, be divided at the very outset of the republican institution. We must continue to restrain them, to moderate them, to rally them as long as possible, until the republic shall be deeply enough rooted in facts and

ideas to employ indifferently republicans of all dates, with republicans of the hour.

"Now, if I alone receive power from the hands of an Assembly not republican, or but slightly republican, what will happen? One of two things, — either I shall expel my principal colleagues from power, and then this expurgated power will be suspicious and odious to all the republicans of yesterday; or, I shall summon these colleagues to power, and then I shall be suspicious and odious to the National Assembly. For I cannot conceal that the Assembly appoints me only on the tacit condition of excluding them. Thus, on one side, I ruin the republic by pruning it too soon; or I declare war on the national representation by imposing on them men whom they hold in distrust and fear. This is an alternative which a politician cannot accept, unless wishing to destroy the republic and oppress the national representation of his country.

"Besides, this alternative even is not admissible. For who are those of my colleagues of the provisional government, my equals of yesterday, who will consent to be my subordinates to-morrow, and to engage their name, their honor, and their responsibility, in my acts? None. I shall be deserted by them immediately, and compelled to take my ministers from among unknown men or the avowed adversaries of the republic.

"But suppose," added Lamartine, "that I accept this fatal alternative, and that I take the single power decreed to me by the hands of the republic, — what will take place to-morrow? This: —

"All my rivals in the minority of the provisional government, all my friends even in the majority, all the republicans, socialists, terrorists or moderates, all the representatives, to the number of three or four hundred, who have been elected under the auspices of the most democratic opinions, will compose a powerful opposition in the Assembly, in the press, in the Luxembourg, in the clubs, in public opinion, in the national workshops. The Assembly, divided, becomes instantly a stormy Assembly. Speeches and votes not only shake the interior, but shake the capital and the country. Parties, checked and mute before the unanimous or almost unanimous representation of to-day, become audacious and insurgent before a representation separated into two camps. Before the end of eight days of such a spectacle presented to Paris, opinions will take up arms in Paris itself. The representation will be threatened.

"Where is my strength, before a certain time, to protect it?

In the army? I have but six thousand men in Paris, and before I could collect thirty or forty thousand soldiers, the signal that the Assembly would give to summon them would be the signal of insurrection against it, and the signal for its dispersion.

"In the National Guard? But more than half of the new militia is in the hands of socialist or conventional republicans. This half of the National Guard would arm for them against the Assembly, and against the old militia which would desire to protect the representation. It would be civil war around the cradle of the constitution.

"I know well," continued Lamartine, "that I could save the Assembly by leading it out of Paris, falling back on the army of the north, surrounding it in fifteen days with other corps drawn from the Rhine, and the National Guards of the departments, submerging Paris with a million of men, and reëstablishing the reign of representation, for a moment violated. But at what a cost!—at the cost of waves of blood that I should have to spill to recapture the capital, and at the cost of proscriptions I should have to exercise against the republicans. This cost, indifferent, perhaps, to an ambitious, is not so to an honest man. Blood is only innocent when it is necessary to the Law acting in self-defence. Here it would be gratuitous blood, that is, crying aloud forever to God and man against my ambition.

"But this is not all. After having reëntered Paris in the blood of the republicans, the Assembly will feel natural anger and réaction against the movement which expels it. Will this réaction maintain the republic to strike republicans? Evidently not. It will engulf even me, if I refuse to serve its vengeance, or it will decree me the dictatorship to deliver the republic. In the first case, I am a Cromwell; in the second, a Monk, a tyrant, or a traitor. This is the alternative I prepare for myself by mounting rashly to power—expelling thence my colleagues and the republicans of the republic, at the voice of a transient popularity.

"For the Assembly, danger; for the country, civil war; for myself, a blasted name; for the future, the republic proclaimed and destroyed in three months by the same man. These were my auguries! It would have required criminality, incapacity, or folly, to accept them. The duty of a true republican and a true patriot is to sacrifice everything, that the republic may not be divided at its outset, and that the National Assembly, obtained by so many efforts, but just introduced by us into a

centre which repulses it, may be accepted, assisted and saved, and insensibly grasp the authority and force which belong to it. This force was as yet totally wanting to it. It is necessary to impart it by all hands, and by the very hands of those who would have wished to remove it without me. These men dispose of a hundred and twenty thousand men of the national workshops, — to-day a docile and patient army, to-morrow insurgent at their word. They dispose of the delegates of the Luxembourg, and of a hundred and fifty thousand workmen rendered fanatical by their exhortations. They dispose of the proletary portion of the new National Guard, which numbers at least sixty thousand bayonets. They dispose of clubs which they can incite to revolt in a single night. They have at their command, moreover, by means of the prefecture of police, and the Hôtel de Ville, the body of the Montagnards, the Lyonnese, the Republican Guard, the Guardians of Paris, the Guides, and all the armed revolutionary assemblies, which receive their word of command only from the most jealous republicans. The day following that on which I shall have excluded these jealous republicans from their legitimate share of the government, the National Assembly will be besieged, vanquished, violated, and constrained to become the debased instrument of the victors, or to dye with blood that arena to which I shall only have summoned it to give it up to executioners."

This evidence struck the mind of Lamartine so forcibly, that he did not understand why it should not strike with equal force all the statesmen who gave more ambitious counsels. But those men, imbued with the spirit of the departments, did not understand the true state of Paris, and the respective strength of the Assembly and the factions.

"The departments will come up in a body," said they.

Lamartine was not unaware of it. But between the arrival of the departments at Paris and the safety of the National Assembly there were eight days, and these eight days would be a snare for the Assembly and the destruction of the republic.

Finally, there was a part strongly recommended to Lamartine, by men more interested in him and his popularity than in the country.

"Retire," said they; "declare that you have need of repose; that you will not be a part of the government; that your work is accomplished; and it now remains for France, erect and reunited, to do hers."

"This part would be the easiest and wisest for me," replied



Lamartine. "I should wrap myself in an easy popularity, which, by disengaging itself from the difficulties, the faults, and the inevitable catastrophes, of these first months, would reserve for me regrets and mighty turns of fortune. I know it—I know the revolution of time. But if I remove myself, the Assembly, which has especial confidence in me, will instantly dismiss all my colleagues of February. It will give the power to a new or old man, suspected by the republicans. This sudden reaction will at once exasperate the republic; Paris will rise in the name of the republicans, proscribed by the government. The same misfortunes will be realized. They will not bear my name: that is all. But in my conscience my baseness and egotism would be equally the cause of it. I shall have saved and aggrandized myself by destroying the Assembly, the republic, and my country. The contrary course must be adopted,—I must be destroyed, and the National Assembly saved."

And he formed his resolution, without deceiving himself in the least as to the consequences of his sacrifice.

He knew, as if he had read it in advance, that his courage would be construed into cowardice; his abnegation into thirst of power; his spirit of concord into complicity; his prudence into blindness. He was not ignorant that a collective government, compressed between the national impatience of the Assembly and the seditious resistance of the people, was only a temporary expedient, soon exhausted and repudiated by all parties. But this expedient was the only one that could deaden the shocks between the representation and the people of Paris, and give time for the reestablishment of force and means of safety. The guerdon he gave for the purchase of this time was himself. He never repented it, notwithstanding the universality of the contrary judgment passed upon his conduct. In repairing to the Assembly to accomplish his resolution, he encountered a group of republican representatives on the place de la Concorde. They conjured him to yield to their entreaties, and suffer himself to be invested with the sole power. "No," said he, in reply; "I have reflected well. There is a chasm which you do not perceive between the National Assembly and the day on which the republic shall be armed. It requires a Curtius to fill it. I shall be engulfed, but I shall save you!" And he entered the palace of the National Assembly.

## IX.

The Assembly, long rebellious, ended by adopting, at his counsel, from lassitude rather than conviction, the bad but imperative plan of an executive commission, composed of five members, chosen by ballot, to exercise the intermediate power until the definitive establishment of the constitutional power.

This ballot immediately showed Lamartine that he had lost the confidence of a large part of the National Assembly, by the very sacrifice he had made of his popularity and ambition. His name, which had ten times issued from the urns of the departments, with more than two million suffrages, only came out fourth from the urn of the Constituent Assembly. They punished him for his devotion; they avenged themselves on him for his unwillingness to serve the impatience and blindness of his country. He bowed his head, and received the sign of his commencing unpopularity.

The Assembly had chosen MM. Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, and Ledru Rollin, members of the executive commission.

The members of the government met at the house of their president, M. Arago. They appointed the ministers. Their selection was inspired by the same spirit of transition, prudence, and fusion, which had animated the resolution of Lamartine. M. Crémieux was minister of justice; M. Bastide had the foreign affairs; M. Jules Favre, whose oratorical talent was superior, while his intelligence was penetrating and comprehensive, was added to this ministry as under-secretary of state, to sustain the difficult and frequent discussions on the foreign interests of the country. M. Charras, while waiting for the arrival of General Cavaignac, administered the department of war; Admiral Casy, the navy; M. Recurt, the interior, with M. Carteret, a man of brilliant talent, for under-secretary of state; M. Trélat, the public works,—a ministry which the national workshops made a political ministry at this time; M. Flocon, agriculture and commerce; M. Bethmont, worship; M. Carnot, public instruction, in which he was seconded by M. Reynaud, a man of adventurous but high-toned philosophy; and M. Duclerc, the finances.

M. Pagnerre, who had been distinguished from the 24th of February by indefatigable services, rendered to government in the modest but leading part of secretary-general of the government, preserved this employment, with a deliberative voice.

M. Marrast retained the mayoralty of Paris until the government had modified this revolutionary institution. M. Caussidière kept the prefectship of police. There was at once both rashness and prudence in this last choice ; no one could do more injury or more service to the National Assembly than Caussidière. Lamartine believed him capable of both parts, but thought that he would sincerely prefer the latter. There is such a difference between serving factions and serving the representation of one's country, that such a greatness must, according to Lamartine, tempt a character like that of Caussidière. To exclude him, was to throw him back into conspiracy — his native element ; to admit him, was to win him back to order, by satisfying an honorable ambition. Caussidière was retained.

### X.

Hardly had the government, thus constituted, time to seize the broken and tangled reins of government, when the prophecies of Lamartine were realized, and too clearly showed the Assembly how deceitful its security was, and how easily the revolutionary soil of Paris might swallow up a sovereignty which displeased it.

The provisional government had appointed a military and national festival for the day on which the representatives should be installed in Paris. They wished that Paris, erect and in arms, should welcome France, embodied in her representatives, by a fraternal salute. They wished that the sovereign representatives should pass in review the countless civic bayonets which were to bend before them, and afterwards protect them against factions. They wished that a memorable acclaim should rise from a million voices, to recognize the sovereignty of France in her representatives. The ill-contrived arrangements of the executors of the preparations for this ceremony in the Champ-de-Mars had postponed it to the 14th of May. The badly-graded soil of the field of federation would have subjected to danger the immense mass of the population whom this festival was certain to bring together.

On the 12th of May, M. Recurt, the minister of the interior, announced again that the festival would be necessarily postponed to the 21st of May. Deputations from the National Guards of the departments, who had already reached Paris, were irritated, murmured, carried their complaints into public places, and produced a slight agitation on the surface of Paris.

The leaders of the party of agitation keenly eyed these symptoms, and saw in them some auxiliary elements of perturbation. The club-managers — the radical partisans of war — until then deceived in their plans of a general conflagration of Europe, sought for a watchword to raise the people. They found it in the name of Poland.

The people, for fifteen years, had been accustomed to respond to this name. This word conveyed to the people the idea of the oppression of a human race, and vengeance on tyranny. Important men in the National Assembly, such as MM. Vavin, Volowski, and Montalembert, were patrons of this cause. These internal patrons encouraged demands from without. This cause, in so far as it was just and generous, counted on generous minds in the Assembly. The factions seized upon these tendencies of the people, to recommend a manifestation in favor of Poland. They appointed a rendezvous for the 15th of May, for all the clubs and all the friends of Poland, on the place de la Bastille. Thence, after having signed a petition to the Assembly demanding war on Russia, — that is to say, the conflagration of the continent, and the coalition of all the powers against the Republic, — they would take up their line of march along the boulevards, rally as they passed the still tumultuous masses of Paris, and would bring the petition of the people to the bar of the Assembly.

The Poles themselves, though they had obtained immense indemnifications already, by the influence of the republic, in the duchy of Posen, and in Gallicia, were no strangers to this movement. Lamartine was informed, by letters from his confidential agents in Poland, that emissaries from the Polish clubs of Cracow had started with the mission of creating a pressure on the National Assembly of Paris, to compel it to declare war in their favor. After having formed this tumultuous assemblage, the club-managers and demagogues proposed to demand defiling through the Assembly, in imitation of the insurgent processions in the Convention in the days of crime.

The government was resolved to oppose this. A petition brought by a hundred thousand men is an oppression, not a vote. Political parties, the ultra or moderate republicans, saw with equal horror this project of a disguised *émeute*. This plot had no understanding with the National or Mobile Guard. It was an attempt of desperate parties, a saturnalia of the basest demagogism; — it afflicted more than it alarmed the government.



Receiving information, though not exact information, on the preceding evening, from the minister of the interior, M. Recurt, the government sent for the prefect of police. Caussidière sent word, in reply, that he was sick, and that he knew nothing of a nature to give rise to serious fears for the next day. His absence, his silence, and his inactivity before and during the movement of the 15th of May, awakened suspicions of connivance or toleration, which nothing subsequent has justified or verified. Caussidière was in fact kept at home by the results of an accidental injury from a horse. He was, moreover, engaged in a struggle of prerogative and rivalry with the mayoralty of Paris and the minister of the interior. Louis Blanc, Albert, and the whole socialist party, excluded from the government by Lamartine and his colleagues, would seek to exasperate Caussidière against an Assembly which separated from them. The Montagnards, to the number of two or three thousand men, who occupied the prefecture of police, and had strengthened themselves there, held by their opinions and relations to the most turbulent clubs. These were armed demagogues, shuddering at the idea of becoming subordinate to the regular representation of the country.

The centre in which Caussidière lived, therefore, was the centre of opposition, rendered acrimonious by dethroned socialists, of a secret faction, affiliated to demagogues. Was Caussidière himself an instigator and accomplice? I think not. Was he as vigilant and active as he would have been in another frame of mind? I dare not affirm that, either. He doubtless believed only in a slight disturbance, which might alarm the Assembly, and impress its importance on the new comers from the departments. He was astonished, the next morning, at the gravity of the result. He took too little interest in the affair. He shut up his forces in the prefecture of police to wait; not as an accomplice or a criminal, but without being sufficiently indignant, perhaps, at the humiliation of the national representation.

The government employed a part of the night in giving the most circumstantial orders to General Courtais, the commandant of the National Guard, and Generals Tampour and Foucher; the first commanding the Guard Mobile, the second, the troops of Paris.

## BOOK XV.

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### I.

AT daybreak, on the 15th of May, the generals and the minister of the interior were summoned to the Luxembourg, the seat of government, to render an account of the dispositions they had made, and to concert new ones. Nothing was neglected which might keep the mob away from the Assembly, and even shield the representation by fire. General Courtais received the command in chief. It was agreed that twelve thousand men of the National Guard should be summoned around the Palais Bourbon, and that the battalions of the Guard Mobile should be stationed as a reserve, under the trees of the Champs-Élysées. Mobile Guards and artillery were also posted in the court-yards.

The sitting of the Assembly was opened at noon. Ledru Rollin and Lamartine were present, as well as the ministers. MM. Arago, Marie, Garnier Pagès, and Pagnerre, were in permanence at the Luxembourg, to consult upon the contingencies of the day, in case their colleagues should be encircled in the Palais Bourbon. A confused agitation reigned within; a prodigious murmuring rose from without. The petition in favor of Poland was read. Orators sustained it. Lamartine ascended the steps of the tribune to reply to them. He received information that an immense column of the people, preceded by the clubs, and gathering upon its way the floating scum of the population of a great capital, was advancing upon the Assembly, and threatened to force the bridge. Lamartine, that he might not alarm the Assembly, feigned to be unwilling to reply until other orators had spoken. He bent to the ear of the president, M. Buchez, and warned him to take the steps which his authority over the troops within the compass of the representatives' palace, gave him.

General Courtais, evidently surprised at the mass and rapidity of the demonstration, deficient in battalions directly on

the spot, fearing a shock which he thought he might still avoid, by opening the passage of the bridge, and letting the column of petitioners defile before the peristyle and along the quay, wavered in his decision, and sought advice corresponding to his ideas. During this indecision on the part of the defence, the column, removing half a battalion of National Guards on the place de la Concorde, and compelling the handful of Mobile Guards, who were insufficient to defend the bridge, to fall back, debouched, like an overflowing torrent, on the quay, in front of the peristyle, and was engulfed by the rue de Bourgogne, amidst cries of "Long live Poland!"

The questors, stripped of power by the absence of the National Guards from the interior, came to engage Lamartine and Ledru Rollin to present themselves to the people, and address them from the top of the palace stairs. General Courtais was already there, seeking vainly, by voice and gesture, to quell the tumult.

Thousands of men, in various costumes, the greater part in rags, with excited faces, and threatening gestures, their mouths full of foam and outcry, bore with the whole force of a multitude against the railings, and struggled to shake or scale them, that they might violate the enclosure. Ledru Rollin, received with some applause, could not make himself heard. At sight of Lamartine, whom the mob knew to be the minister of foreign affairs, and energetically opposed to the war, an immense clamor rose. Some voices shouted, "Death to Lamartine!"

The crowd protested with indignation against these cries. They tore from the railing the two wretches who had uttered them, trampled them under foot, and cried; "No! Long live Lamartine!" At the moment when Lamartine had a chair brought, that he might address the people, fifteen or twenty men, who had mounted on the points of the railing, crossed them, and fell at his feet in the space which separates the fence from the steps of the peristyle. The gate of the fence was opened or forced, and the first billow of the crowd poured through this aperture. "It is all over," said Lamartine. "No! reason can do no more. There is nothing left but defence. Well then, to arms, and let us defend ourselves!"

As he uttered these words, he fell back, followed by a few deputies and soldiers, to the gate of the second court, separated by another railing from the square of the peristyle. This second court was occupied by half a battalion of Mobile Guards.

The soldiers seemed resolved to do their duty, when an order, attributed to General Courtais, made them sheathe their bayonets. Lamartine, perceiving this motion of disarming among the soldiers in the midst of the tumult, raised his arms to heaven, and exclaimed that all was lost.

He reëntered the interior with the group of questors and deputies, and awaited the result in consternation. Still he flattered himself that the National Guards who were in the other courts, rallied by some energetic command, would at least prevent the violation of the very hall of sessions, and that the invasion he had witnessed on the side of the quay would be confined to a tumultuous defiling in the corridors and gardens of the palace. After having informed the president of what was going on, he went out, alone and desperate, to face the seditious men who were trying to cross the last threshold.

After having gone a few steps in the hall of columns, he found himself in front of a group of club-leaders, who were advancing five or six deep, with locked arms. A member of the provisional government, Albert, the friend of Louis Blanc, was of the number. He was the only one whom Lamartine knew by sight.

Behind this first rank marched other citizens, their faces on fire, their gestures wild.

Lamartine, resolved to do his duty, without considering his impotence and isolation, advanced a few steps to meet this head of the column, and extending his crossed arms, as if to oppose a barrier, said to them: —

"Citizens, you shall not pass, or you shall only pass over my body." — "And by what right would you prevent our passing?" asked the first who accosted him. — "By the right," replied Lamartine, "of a member of the government, charged with defending, at every cost, the inviolability of the National Assembly." — "What do we care for the National Assembly?" replied they. "We are the people. We wish personally to present our petitions and our wills to our servants. Have you already forgotten that the people communicated freely, directly and constantly, with the government at the Hôtel de Ville?"

"Citizens," resumed Lamartine, "we were then in a revolution; we are now under a government. The National Assembly is as far above us as the nation is above you. It cannot receive petitions from the hands of a banded faction of the people, without losing its liberty and majesty. I tell you again you shall not pass except over my body."



Then shouts rose from the midst of the men who formed the second rank of the group. Ironical and contemptuous apostrophes were addressed to Lamartine. But no outrage, no violence, saddened this dialogue between the interlocutors and himself. The altercation degenerated into a discussion on the respective rights of the people and the Assembly; some citizens, not belonging to the representative body, among whom were young Lagrange of Mâcon, Thomasson, and Ernest Grégoire, and some courageous and indignant representatives, M. de Mornay, M. de Montrol and others, had hastened to the spot on the rumor of the quarrel, and ranged themselves behind Lamartine. They represented matters in the same light as he did to the groups of invaders. These groups, still few in numbers, hesitated, wavered, and finally ended by falling back to the *salle des Pas Perdus*.

Lamartine reëntered the Assembly and took his seat, that he might participate in the resolutions and acts which the National Assembly would adopt in this extremity. He thought the gates had been closed after the passage of this first wave of insurgents, and that the petitions brought by representatives would call him to the tribune.

But he had hardly resumed his place, filled with a horror and grief which he could hardly banish from his features, when the doors of the public tribunes, opened or burst noisily through the whole extent of the hall, gave entrance to an invasion of men in waistcoats and blue working-shirts, all in rags, who rushed as to the assault of the galleries, brutally hurling out, with hands and feet, peaceable spectators and women, bestriding the balconies, and hanging by their arms from the balconies, that they might slide down over the heads of the representatives, — in a moment filling the entire hall with crowds, cries, flags, dust, and confusion; a true and atrocious image of an irruption of barbarians into a civilized society. Lamartine recognized in this subterranean mob the same chiefs, the same costumes, the same faces, the same shouts, with which he had been overwhelmed for sixty hours at the Hôtel de Ville, during the days of the red flag. The Assembly might imagine itself carried back to the gloomy days of September, 1793.

The representatives were unanimously sublime in firmness; firm in attitude and indignation. Not a cry of fright was uttered by one mouth. Not a brow grew pale. Not a look lowered before the audacity and atrocity of the faces and acts

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INVASION OF THE HALL OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BY THE MOB OF SOCIALISTS, MAY 15, 1878.

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which sullied the hall. These nine hundred intrepid citizens had understandingly accepted from their departments the mission of supreme danger they would incur in hastening to enact republican law for a radicalism which would attempt to impose on them sedition and terror. They were resolved to die worthy of their departments.

The people were themselves intimidated by their attitude, and seemed ashamed of their own excesses. Still some hideous struggles between these men, intoxicated with the radical addresses which had been aimed at them, took place within the enclosure. Ruffians brandishing a flag, armed with an iron lance, wished to go and plant it on the tribune. Others restrained them. They were overthrown and raised themselves from the dust, under the eyes of the representatives. Others tried to scale the steps of the tribune, which the devoted ushers and deputies covered with their bodies. Others rushed by the outer staircases to the bureau and arm-chair of the president, to force orders or motions on him. Partial, terrible, and ill-boding dialogues took place between the crowd and some heroic deputies, who braved it by rising from their benches, uncovering their breasts, and making gestures of defiance to the seditious. Tragic interrogations passed on all sides, between the leading demagogues, who pressed to the foot of the tribune, and the representatives of all sides. There was neither right nor left in the Assembly. No secret intelligence had been as yet established between the demagogues outside and the representatives. There was no other party but that of indignation; Ledru Rollin, Barbès, and Louis Blanc, expressing by their looks and gestures as much affliction and disgust at these saturnalia of the people, as the members of other parties in the Assembly. These deputies of popular renown were observed to be accosted by the people, and to be seeking to appease them and dissuade them from their evil designs. Their interference was appealed to as if to be interposed between the people and the Assembly. These representatives, thus solicited by their colleagues, uttered a few words in a spirit of repression; but the tumult drowned all voices and confounded all parts. It was a conflict of gestures and shouts, a battle of unarmed men, a whirl of confused elements, which carried away everything, even those who had created it. More than one hour thus rolled away before the silence of lassitude would allow the mixed mob and representatives the semblance, not of a deliberation, but a dialogue or



sort of protestation. The excess of anarchy had paralyzed the action of anarchy itself.

## II.

While these scenes were passing in the hall, other and still more scandalous and gloomy scenes were enacted around the desk and arm-chair of the president. Insurgents had already obtained possession, by climbing with hands and feet upon the tribune. There some brandished drawn swords, others the flags of clubs; two men in uniform, one an officer of the National Guard, the other a fireman, made themselves conspicuous by the insolence and recklessness of their vociferations. Bands of demagogues, with hairy and bloated faces, disputed for the tribune, attempted to utter a few words drowned by applause or clamor, and by turns overthrew each other. Others, constantly assaulting the bureau and the arm-chair, uttered horrible menaces against the president. They forbade, under pain of the massacre of the Assembly, to summon the National Guard to the assistance of the representatives.

The president, dignified, calm, and fearless, on his account, was placed under an anxiety and mental restraint which explains his apparent inaction. If he did not summon the public force, he failed to discharge his responsibility to the Assembly; if he summoned it, he would perhaps compromise the lives of nine hundred representatives, who were at the mercy of an innumerable herd. Besides, did the public force exist anywhere? It was said that the column of the people which entered the enclosure was but the head of a column of a hundred thousand men, stretching from the Pont de la Concorde to the Bastille. General Tampour, the commandant of the Guard Mobile, was detained in a public tribune, a motionless spectator of this violence, separated from troops to whom he could not give orders. The commanding-general, Courtais, was wandering about the enclosure, surrounded by billows of the people, who forbade his summoning his battalions. The government was either imprisoned with Lamartine and Ledru Rollin, or removed from the scene of action, at the Luxembourg, with Arago, Garnier Pagès, and Marie. There remained nothing but the individual action of each good citizen. Each one employed it according to his inspiration and conjectures as to the nature and mass of the exterior movement, with whose direction no one was acquainted. The president signed, by turns orders not to have the *rappel* beaten, and secret orders

to march upon the Assembly. He gave the first to the seditious, to appease them ; the second, to the faithful, to be transmitted by them to the colonels of the legions. These colonels, thus receiving contrary orders, took counsel of chance only. Lamartine sent successively, by friends he had in the crowd, the order to beat the *rappel* and to muster the legions. M. de Chamborand, a forward and bold man, a friend of Lamartine, succeeded, through a thousand dangers, on his own responsibility, and even by giving himself up as a hostage, in causing the order to beat the *rappel* to be executed by a legion. But these orders were only counsels carried by representatives, or by apparent accomplices of the invasion, which might be evaded or disobeyed. The captive Assembly was surrendered to the chances of fortune. A single shot or dagger-stroke might change the popular saturnalia into a massacre of the representatives.

In the mean time, the mass of the people, more misled than guilty, appeared to feel an instinctive shame at their excesses, and to blush at their own disorder. Lamartine mounted upon the terrace of the little garden which commands the quays and the rue de Bourgogne, to judge of the number and disposition of the people without, and was received with applause and cries of *Vive Lamartine!* Reëntering the halls which face the enclosure, and plunged in the groups which were rolling there like waves, he was the object of no outrage. "Speak to us! counsel us! assist us!" cried to him these men, uncertain of their own mind. "Fear nothing; we will cover you with our arms, to avert the daggers from your breast!"

He replied to them with calmness and severity. He pointed out to them, by his gestures, the scandal of the violated precincts, and the certain vengeance of the departments, outraged in their representatives, and the inevitable civil war, if they did not voluntarily restrain themselves, by retiring and signing an act of repentance and reparation to the Assembly. These words found everywhere echoes. The people appeared to demand nothing but to retire and repair their fault. A small number only of demagogues and furious agents of the clubs perpetuated the tumults, and carried Louis Blanc in triumph from hall to hall, accompanied by Barbès and Albert.

Louis Blanc, whatever may have been since said, appeared more humbled than satisfied by these triumphs, suffered rather than obtained, over public decency. Lamartine, who was constantly elbowed in this vortex of sedition by the ovations of

his old colleague and adversary, heard from the bosom of the crowd many of the addresses of Louis Blanc. These speeches breathed joy at seeing the numbers and enthusiasm of the socialists impose respect upon their enemies, and being marked by the irresistible power of public opinion. But while congratulating them, he conjured them to retire, to become moderate, and to restore liberty to the general representatives of the people. General Courtais, passing from group to group, did not cease to address the same adjurations.

#### IV.

But while Lamartine harangued, from hall to hall, the crowd, more and more influenced by his voice, the chiefs of the clubs were disputing for the tribune, and mounting it, read petitions and discourses; Blanqui, applauded by his sectaries, called to it, by a fatal rivalry of popularity, Barbès, his enemy, and up to that time more an adversary than an accomplice of the seditious. At last, a conspirator more enterprising, called Huber, a face proved in all the extreme agitations of the people since February, proclaimed the dissolution of the national body of representatives, and a revolutionary government.

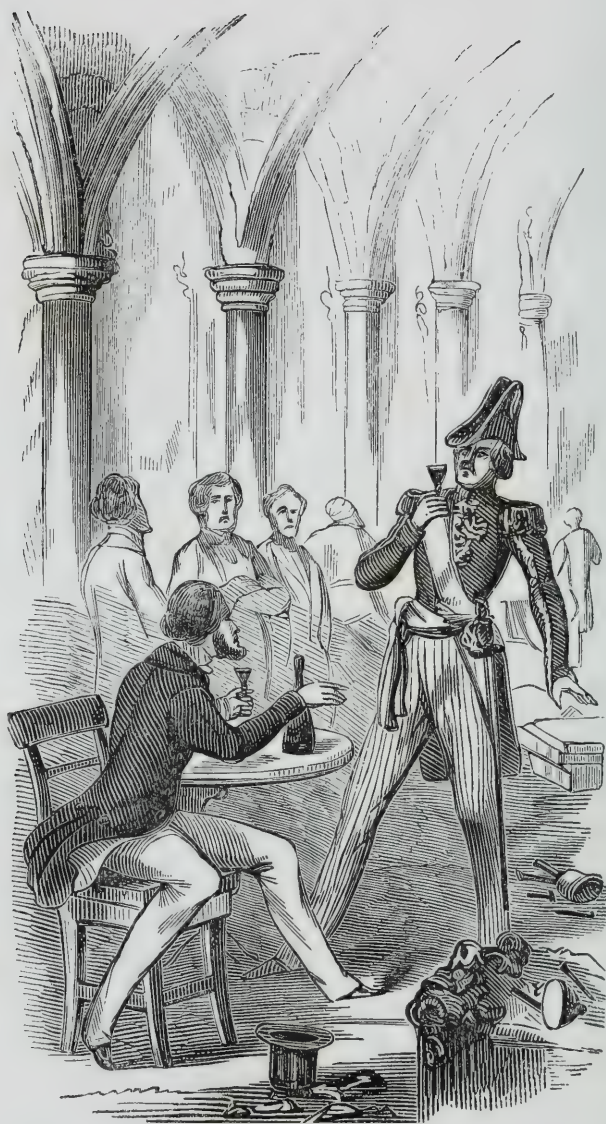
Applauded by the hordes who were pressing round the tribune, this motion was proclaimed from mouth to mouth, like a decree of the people. The members of the Assembly dispersed to seek justice and vengeance in the bosom of the National Guard, and of the true Paris. The factions, preceded by Barbès and their accomplices, marched in column upon the Hôtel de Ville, took possession of it without resistance, and surrounded themselves with eight thousand armed men, some accomplices, others spectators seduced by the triumph of factions.

At this moment Ledru Rollin, retained by the insurgents in a porter's lodge of the palace, and solicited by them to follow them to the Hôtel de Ville, and to accept there the place which they had decreed him in this government, resisted them obstinately, and declared that he would never allow himself, for any consideration, to set up a power surprised by a sedition against the national representatives.

At the same moment, Lamartine, pressed by a tumultuous crowd into the hall of conferences, harangued the people, who began to retire at his summons. The movement of retreat which was made after the proclamation of the dissolution of

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LAMARTINE AND GENERAL COURTOIS.

the Assembly interrupted his discourse. A group of seven or eight good citizens, mingled among the people, to inspire and restrain them, surrounded Lamartine, and conducted him across the garden into the palace of the presidency, which was in process of construction. They made him ascend to the office of the administration of building. They closed the doors, stationed some brave workmen as sentinels at the foot of the staircase, to turn aside the multitude, if they should chance to present themselves. They resolved to await, in the very precincts of the National Assembly, the movement which was about to consummate or redress the outrage of the day.

"If in three hours," said Lamartine to his unknown friends, "we do not hear the drum beat to arms on the other side of the river, I shall sleep at Vincennes, or I shall be shot!"

"This will not last so long," cried the young men, with indignation; "it is not possible that France will endure for three hours such a parody of a government."

Lamartine, exhausted in voice, and streaming with perspiration, sat down at a little table, on which the workmen had forgotten a bottle of wine; he drank to the approaching deliverance of the republic.

General Courtais, informed of the asylum to which Lamartine had retired, came to knock at the door of the cabinet. He allowed him to enter. Nothing in his features or his language betrayed the open joy, or even the secret satisfaction, of an accomplice. On the contrary, everything about him displayed the disorder and consternation of a man wavering between two dangers: that of failing in his duty to the representatives, and that of shedding the first blood after a revolution thus far without stain. Courtais asked advice of Lamartine before these eight witnesses. Lamartine counselled him to escape by the gardens, and to put himself at the head of the first legion which he could collect, and to march on the palace to reestablish the Assembly. He thanked Lamartine, drank a glass of wine while standing, and rushed out to do his duty.

An instant after, he returned. His uniform of general had caused him to be surrounded by the people, who inundated the gardens and courts, and closed all the outlets. Lamartine counselled him to make a last effort; the general again descended, pressed through the rioters, and desired to go out by the rue de Bourgogne. But while he was seeking a mode of

rejoining and commanding his legions, the legions, roused, of their own accord, by the public rumor and the emissaries of Lamartine and his colleagues at the Luxembourg, assembled, marched, and went to arrest soon their own general.

## V.

A vast murmuring of people rose from below to the asylum where Lamartine was counting the minutes with his friends. A sad and complete silence reigned over the rest of Paris. With ears glued to the windows, they did not know what would proceed from this silence. The conspirators had, it was said, ten thousand armed accomplices, and some cannon, at the Hôtel de Ville. The office of the minister of the interior had been taken; that of the minister of war abandoned. The National Guard was without commandant-general. They were yet floating between the most strange events. Everything was possible at such a moment.

Suddenly a distant march at a charging step, imperceptible, beaten from different sides, on both banks of the Seine, struck upon the ear. At this sound, a battalion of the Guard Mobile, shut up in the gardens of the presidency which command the quay, ran to arms, and formed in order of battle under the walls of the palace. Lamartine went out with his friends from his retreat, descended the staircase, traversed the building in course of construction, passed through a window upon a plank thrown like a bridge from the palace to the garden, and rushed into the ranks of the Guard Mobile, who received him with cries of "*Vive Lamartine! vive la représentation nationale!*" and returned with them and the National Guards, by the great gate of the quay, into the palace. The insurgents, who filled the enclosure of the halls, the courts, and the gardens, dispersed throughout all the outlets before the bayonets. The representatives, led back by detachments of the legions, resumed their places. Lamartine, half stifled by the crowds in the halls and corridors, was carried up to the first steps of the tribune. He mounted it in the midst of cries of "*Vive Assemblée Nationale! vive Lamartine!*" He waited there a long time in silence, until the tumult of arms should subside, and until a certain number of representatives had taken their place.

"Citizens!" cried he then, "the first duty of the National Assembly, returning with freedom within these walls under

the shadow of the bayonets, is to vote the gratitude of the country to the National Guards of Paris, to the Guard Mobile, and to the army!" This proposition was ratified with applause.

"But we should fail in the first of our duties," continued he, "if, in this public gratitude, we did not signalize a part, the principal, the vast majority of the population of Paris, indignant at the scandals which for a moment dishonored these precincts, and who have risen in mass to reestablish the representatives.

"But, citizens! in the pressing circumstances with which we are urged, the tribune is not the place for the politician whom you have appointed, with his colleagues, to watch over the safety of the country; while a government of faction, while a government of violence, substituted momentarily for the great and unanimous expression of the universal suffrage of the people, is seeking elsewhere a seat of government, which will break under their feet. Let us go to the Hôtel de Ville.

"I will not say to you that the moments are precious, for I have, like you, the confidence and conviction that the more time the people of Paris have for conviction, the more they will blush at the outrage committed against you! In presence of the terrible misunderstanding which may arise between the departments, insulated in their representatives, and Paris, guardian of the security of the Assembly, we must take counsel. Ah, well! we will go, we, in the name of the government which you have proclaimed a few days since; let us go, assisted by the unanimity of the National Guard, the Guard Mobile, and this army, which it is impossible to separate; let us go to unite with the members of the government, who all, I doubt not, are animated with the same indignation, the same sentiments, as I; yes! even those whom the choice of factions has attempted to dishonor! let us go, to ratify, as soon as possible, the acclamations with which you have just nominated with enthusiasm the brave chief of the National Guards, the citizen Clément Thomas." (*Applause.*)

"Citizens! yet one word, a single word.

"At a moment like this, the government is no longer in council; the place of the government is at your head, citizens and National Guards! its place is upon the battle-field! Let us march!"

The hall resounded with acclamations. The soldiers and



the National Guards raised their bayonets towards the tribune, as if to make a rampart for the representatives. Lamartine descends, and advances towards Ledru Rollin, who has just entered the hall, and says to him: "Let us march to the Hôtel de Ville. They have just placed your name on the list of the government of faction; give the lie to the insurgents, by marching with me against them!"

The two members of government went out, accompanied by a crowd of the Guard Mobile, of the representatives and citizens, among whom were M. Murat, son of the hero of Naples, Mornay, and Fálloux, men who aspired for action. Arriving on the quay, Lamartine threw himself upon the horse of a dragoon. They brought Ledru Rollin the horse of an officer; a battalion of the National Guards of the tenth legion, among whom were distinguished, under the simple garb of the soldier, the sons of the highest families of the French aristocracy, grouped themselves around them. The regiment of dragoons of the brave Colonel Gogon took the head of the column. They advanced by the quay, with cries of "*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale!*" "*Guerre aux factieux!*"

The column was weak in numbers, but invincible from its impulse; they proposed to await the collection of other forces. Lamartine was opposed to it, certain that in a revolution time lost counts more than expected forces can profit. In the midst of voices, of cries, of counsel, of bayonets which pressed around his horse, he called to mind the ninth of Thermidor, when the party of Robespierre, although the most numerous, was crushed in that same Hôtel de Ville, by his inactivity, and by the rapid resolution of the Convention and Barras. He knew Barbès for a man of action; he did not doubt but that, already surrounded by from seven to eight thousand accomplices, he would have in the evening a revolutionary army and government, if only three hours were left for the sedition.

## VI.

General Courtais had just been insulted, dismissed, and made prisoner by his soldiers, deceived and indignant at his inaction, which they believed a design. General Tampour had been separated from his battalions throughout the day, and they were ignorant whether he was free. The absent government were in session at the Luxembourg, and assailed by a detachment of the sedition, to which Arago, Garnier Pagès and Marie

opposed a firm and triumphant resistance. The office of the minister of war was vacant. No minister, no general, was invested with the universal and sudden command necessary for this extreme moment. Lamartine took upon him the dictatorship, commanded by this total eclipse of regular military powers. He sent for four pieces of cannon, to force, if necessary, the gates of the Hôtel de Ville; Ledru Rollin and he agreed, at a word, while on horseback, to give the verbal command of Paris to General Bedeau, whom they caused to be sought for on the quay of the Louvre. While waiting, the unanimous enthusiasm guided, inspired, and regulated the column of attack; it increased while marching. Every door poured forth a combatant the more into its ranks. All the windows applauded; the women, old men, and children, invoked and blessed, with extended hands, the avengers of the national representatives. Paris, in consternation, shuddered at the triumph of the demagogues, for a moment victorious, and whose foreseen excesses were compared in the imagination of the people with the crimes of 1793. This so sudden return of courage and probable success to the good citizens elevated the heart and made the soul break forth in invocations and transports.

## VII.

At the upper part of the bridge Saint Michel the head of the column was stopped, crowded back a moment by the masses, which obstructed the corner of the place de Grève and the quay. The dragoons had just announced that the Hôtel de Ville was formidably defended, that the conspirators had cannon, and that they perceived at the windows preparations for murderous discharges upon the column when it should debouch from the quay under the fire of the façade. Lamartine sent to instruct the general to advance a second column, by the streets which run parallel to the quay, and which open from the side opposite to the river, upon the square; the same manœuvre still as that of the ninth of Thermidor, when Bourdon de l'Oise marched upon Robespierre by these side streets, while Barras marched by the quay.

At last, after a moment given to the execution of this movement, Lamartine and his colleague entered on horseback, at the head of the column of attack, the place de Grève, with cries of "*Vive la représentation nationale!*" A movement of confusion separated them. The artillerymen and National Guards, who

surrounded Lamartine, conjured him to dismount his horse, for fear that his elevation above the crowd would make him the chosen mark for the discharges which they expected to receive at the foot of the edifice : "No, no !" cried Lamartine ; "if any one should fall first for the cause of the National Assembly, it is I !" and he traversed the square under a curtain of bayonets, swords, and flags. His horse no longer walked ; it was raised up and carried as far as the court of the palace. Not a musket-shot had been fired.

The National Guards, who had preceded the head of the column, and the Guard Mobile, rushed to the assault of the staircases. They immediately carried them, without resistance from Barbès and his accomplices. This was a conflict without combat. They were ignorant below of what was passing above. They expected tragical scenes of desperate resistance, of murders and suicides, like those which marked the arrest of Henriot or Couthon. The crowd was so dense in the court that Lamartine could not dismount his horse. "Speak to us ! speak to us !" they cried, extending their hands and arms towards him.

"Citizens !" cried Lamartine, "the first tribune in the world is the saddle of a horse, when one thus reënters the palace of the people, surrounded by this retinue of good citizens, armed to crush the factions of the demagogues, and to reinstate, with yourselves, the true republic, and the body of national representatives."

### VIII.

Lamartine, after these words, was less drawn than carried upon the arms of the Guard Mobile, the National Guards, and the citizens, across the vestibules, the staircases, and corridors, as far as a small hall on the first story, where the same crowd, the same tumult, the same arms, and the same enthusiasm, reigned.

Some of the chiefs of the insurrection, and Barbès, who had been seduced into becoming their accomplice, were already shut up in a neighboring apartment. They had made no resistance ; the promptness of the resolution, and the rapidity of the march of the column of attack, directed by the two members of the government, had not left the conspirators time to increase their number, to call their partisans, and organize their defence. The five or six thousand men who had entered with them the Hôtel de Ville had disbanded and dispersed at the sight of the first companies of National Guards, horse, foot, and dragoons,

under the command of M. de Gogon himself, an active colonel, and adored by his regiment.

Assembled in tumultuous council, in the hall of all the revolutions, at the Hôtel de Ville, their triumph had only lasted two hours. They had employed them in constituting themselves, by a sort of popular vote, into a collective revolutionary dictatorship, composed of Barbès, Louis Blanc, Albert, Blanqui, Raspail, Huber, Sobrier, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, and Cabet. It was the government of clubs proscribing the government of the nation; the coalition of sects against the representatives of the country. Many of the members of this government were even ignorant that they had usurped their names. Lamartine and Ledru Rollin also signed, in revolutionary style, and without other title than urgency and public vengeance, the order to arrest the conspirators present, and to conduct them to Vincennes.

But the immense and armed multitude which every moment came crowding in upon the square, and the indignation of Paris, which was roused by the horror and by the sudden suppression of the attempt, made Ledru Rollin, Lamartine, and Marrast, fear that the criminals could not in the day-time traverse with impunity the streets and squares, excited by these persons to revolt. They were unwilling that a revolution which had been thus far pure should shed the first drop of blood, even the blood of those who had wished to corrupt and to tarnish it. They knew that the worst corruption for a people is that of blood shed before its eyes. In accordance with M. Marrast, who had preserved his intrepidity, although imprisoned by the sedition in the Hôtel de Ville, they provided coolly against this danger, by ordering that the prisoners should be conducted to Vincennes at an advanced hour of the night, and under a strong escort.

## IX.

These measures having been taken, the increasing and tumultuous crowd in the palace separated the two members of government.

Lamartine has'ened to go forth and reassure the National Assembly, which was in permanent session. During the few moments that he had passed at the Hôtel de Ville, the square and the quays had become covered with the bayonets of all the legions of Paris. Of the two horses which he had sent for at his resi-



dence, one, mounted by M. de Forbin Janson, had been stopped by the arrest of this brave volunteer, who had been mistaken for an insurgent, and cast into prison. The other, mounted by a young National Guard, M. Guillemeteau, had thrown its rider on Pont Neuf. This horse had been brought back to the square by a dragoon. Lamartine, almost suffocated, upon coming out of the Hôtel de Ville, by the rush towards him on the part of National Guards and the people, hunted for his horse, to escape from the crowd, and to breathe above the multitude in which he was plunged. While passing in front of the regiment of dragoons, he recognized his horse, and sprang into the saddle.

He returned along the quays to the National Assembly. Groups of people, intoxicated by this victory of the true republic over an anarchy of a few hours, surrounded him, clapping their hands. His horse's bridle was held by artillerymen. He was followed by a train of National Guards, on horseback and on foot, of dragoons, and of citizens, who relieved each other in shouts of applause, in pressing his hand, in touching his garments. The sidewalks, the ends of the bridges, the windows, the roofs, the terraces of the Louvre and the Tuileries, were covered with men of every condition, with women, old men, and children, who clapped their hands as he passed, who shed tears, who saluted him with their handkerchiefs waved from a distance, and who threw flowers upon his horse. A single cry of "*Vive la République !*" "*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale !*" "*Vive Lamartine !*" followed him, constantly renewed, from the steps of the Hôtel de Ville to the steps of the Chamber of Deputies. Never had the name of a simple citizen, adopted as the symbol of reestablished order, been raised higher by a people, to descend more suddenly, a few days afterwards, into unpopularity. We see, that, of all the triumphs, the one which most intoxicated the French people was the triumph over anarchy.

## X.

Lamartine, dismounting from his horse, ascended the tribune ; he announced to the Assembly that its rule was established, and that the government was about to take measures to punish and prevent such outrages. The Assembly separated with cries of *Vive la République !* The National Guards of the precincts and the departments in the neighborhood of the capital flowed, of their own accord, at night and in the morning, into Paris, to

avenge, if need be, their representatives. During the night the government assembled at the Luxembourg; regulated this movement; interrogated the prefect of police, Caussidière; caused the accomplices in the sedition to be arrested; appointed M. Clément Thomas commandant-general of the National Guard at Paris; and, in place of the generals whose energy had been paralyzed by indecision and surprise, substituted chiefs more active and more popular in the army.

In the morning there remained no other mark of the revolutionary movement, except among the *Montagnards* at the prefecture of police, and in the barracks of the Republican Guard.

These armed revolutionary corps, whom Caussidière had under his command for the safety of Paris, badly influenced by their sympathy with the clubs, or badly directed by Caussidière, had failed during the evening in all their duties; their inactivity, at least, had abandoned the National Assembly to invasion, and the Hôtel de Ville to conspiracy. The government ordered their expurgation. The Republican Guards obeyed at the first summons, and gave up their arms with discontent. The corps of *Montagnards* fortified themselves, to the number of three thousand men, in the prefecture of police, not wishing to recognize any other authority than that of Caussidière, and threatening to sustain a desperate siege, and to shed streams of blood of the National Guard, if they should attempt to dislodge them by force. General Bedeau received orders to surround the prefecture with six thousand troops and twenty-five thousand men of the National Guard, to constrain these undisciplined or rebellious soldiers to submission, and to effect their surrender of arms.

General Bedeau surrounded them from the morning. The exasperation of the National Guard against these suspected accomplices or secret partisans of the clubs was extreme. They called loudly for the assault. Cannon menaced the gates. These three thousand soldiers of Caussidière had a large amount of ammunition. They had determined to sell their surrender at the cost of much bloodshed, and, in case of extremity, to raze the quarter to the ground.

At two o'clock Caussidière, called a second time to the Luxembourg by the executive commission, refused to offer his voluntary resignation. He held ambiguous language, in which obedience and concealed menace were confounded by equivocal expressions and gestures. Lamartine, who, on the day before had still been of opinion to preserve Caussidière, as a man use-

ful, courageous, and easy to be attached, by his good feelings and his ambition, to the party of order in the republic, no longer hesitated. He went out with Caussidière and entered his carriage. He took with him the road to the prefecture of police. He represented to him, on the route, the peril of his situation, the greatness of his responsibility, the absolute necessity of his offering his resignation, the esteem which would attach to his name, if he should succeed, as he must, in obtaining the submission of his army without the effusion of blood.

Caussidière knew that of all the members of government, Lamartine, although wholly a stranger to his former revolutionary course, had been the most confiding in his character, and the most disposed to support him. He yielded to his representations, made from an interest not to be suspected. He authorized Lamartine to carry back his resignation to the government; he promised to make the utmost efforts to disperse the Montagnards. Lamartine, on his part, the idol, that day, of the National Guards of Paris and the departments, engaged to suspend the attack, and to dispose the citizens to accommodation and indulgence for the besieged.

Upon the bridge Saint Michel, the carriage which conducted the two negotiators came into the midst of twenty thousand National Guards blockading the prefecture. They recognized Lamartine; they tore him from the carriage, they covered him with acclamations, they stifled him with enthusiasm, they surrounded him in such crowds and in such transports that it was a long time before he could cross the bridge to pass them in review and exhort them to peace. All ranks broke at his name, and threw themselves towards him with cries of "*Vive Lamartine!*" He was obliged to take refuge in a side street, to rescue himself from their intoxication. The crowd of National Guards rushed forward upon his steps; he escaped with difficulty from the multitude, by entering the house of a printer. Some officers barricaded the door within, against the passionate zeal of the National Guards and the people. There, he called successively several of the commanders; he charged them to spread the intelligence in the ranks of an approaching accommodation. The irritation of the assailants was calmed. Caussidière, on his part, reasoned with and quieted the Montagnards. General Bedeau dissolved them without concession, and without resistance. The blood of Paris was once more spared. The fifteenth of May inspired more confidence in the National Assembly, and more energy in the

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ARRIVAL OF GENERAL CAVAIGNAC IN PARIS.

government. They were yet sailing against the wind, but firmer hands were at the helm.

## XI.

General Cavaignac, on his arrival at Paris, received the ministry of war, which awaited him, as we have seen above. He took possession of it with that firm though modest assurance which indicates in a man confidence in his own powers. Lamartine, who foresaw the approaching and inevitable combats for the establishment of the republic, placed at its cradle between two kinds of enemies, studied the general at a glance, and did not hesitate to confide the safety of the republic to his character. He urged him to profit by the popularity of his name, and to demand of the government disciplined forces sufficient to protect the National Assembly against the approaching attempts of the factions. They estimated, in concert, these forces, at fifty-five thousand bayonets in Paris, to wit: fifteen thousand men of the Guard Mobile; two thousand six hundred men of the Republican Guard, purified and reorganized; two thousand and fifty guardians of Paris; twenty thousand troops of the line in the barracks; — in fine, fifteen thousand troops of the line, in the division of Paris, which could be brought in a few hours upon the field of battle.

These military precautions, more than sufficient, loudly called for by Lamartine, did not meet with any opposition in the council. Every one there wished, with the same sincerity, a republic strongly armed against anarchy, the danger of rising republics. It was always supposed abroad that there were dissensions and divisions between the members of the government, especially between Lamartine and Ledru Rollin; these divisions no longer existed, since the great act of concord, which had rallied to the National Assembly the three principal shades of republican government, except the socialists. All the members of government, and all the ministers, had not only the same duty, but the same interest of ambition, to serve loyally the republic, the government, and the Assembly. The energetic and profound dissensions, which, before this period and since, separated the thoughts and feelings of Lamartine from the thoughts and feelings of some of his colleagues, ought not to discolor the truth of history. Lamartine did not, at that period, see a single symptom which did not attest in all the most perfect identity of views, and the most irreproachable loyalty

of concurrence for the regular establishment of the republic. There was, indeed, no alliance, but there was no discontent.

This was not the case with certain agents of the administration, and certain members of the National Assembly, around the government. There was apparent in their acts a spirit of sect, of personal proselytism, and of monopolizing the republic in their own hands and in the hands of their friends; a spirit of proselytism, narrow, jealous, small, and altogether contrary to the true spirit of government. It did not escape Lamartine, that the administrative selections were concerted and made in advance in these cliques of the government. They were often contrary to his views; but indifferent as to men, and without any aspiration for personal predominance, he affected not to see, in order to avoid division.

## XII.

The review, prepared by government in honor of the National Assembly, and put off in consequence of the sedition of the fifteenth of May, took place on the twenty-first of May, on the Champ-de-Mars. Three hundred thousand bayonets and ten thousand swords, twined with flowers, defiled before the platform, occupied by the Assembly, the ministers, and the government. A single cry of "*Vive l'Assemblée Nationale et la République!*" was raised to the sky, from eight o'clock in the morning till night. This was the adoption of the Assembly by the people and by the National Guards, the consecration of republican sovereignty.

This festival gave a feeling of their inviolability to the representatives, and of its force to the country. Lamartine assisted in it; he still received some acclamations, and crowns of oak-leaves from the hands of the National Guards and the people of the departments. But already his popularity, as rapid in its fall as it was slow in rising, was buried under the resentments of the party of the fallen monarchy, under the ingratitude of the destitute, and under the menacing agitations of the national workshops. Some reproached him with not having restored to them a throne; others, for not having put the National Assembly under a yoke, and for not having delivered society to their rule.



## XIII.

It must be acknowledged, the position of the government was false, yet inevitable. It wanted unity; and the necessity of not dividing the republic, at the outset, into two hostile parties, rendered impossible at that time the immediate restoration of unity. All collective government is feeble, undecided, and vacillating, since it is irresponsible. Collective responsibility is without name; and responsibility without a name cannot exist. Doubtless, if a single man had been then at the head of executive power, he would have been able to foresee, provide, and will, with a very different degree of energy from these five men, obliged to combine together their intelligence, opinions, and actions. These five men did not deceive themselves in this respect. Moreover, they felt themselves crushed between the National Assembly, which demanded of them the reëstablishment of order without a period of transition, and the convulsive events of a vast revolution, which commanded of them prudence and management, for fear of bringing on an inevitable shock before having the power to resist it. Thus this government was, and could be, nothing else, but an *interim*, painfully administered by those who had accepted the ungrateful and impossible mission. To fill up the abyss of a month or two between the revolution terminated and the constitutional power restored to vigor, — to assume the responsibility of the National Assembly before the people, and of the people before the National Assembly, discontenting both, — to guard, day by day, against difficulties, — to prepare the elements of force for future power, — to resist the last assaults of factions dispossessed and made desperate by the installation of the national sovereignty, — to foresee approaching and menacing insurrections, — to suspend them as long as possible, — to confront them on the day when they broke out, — to perish from responsibility in defeat, or from ingratitude in victory, — such was the part ready marked for this government of temporization. It was only good in the hearts of those who had devoted themselves to it, from their having appreciated it beforehand; and their pretended ambition, at this moment, was only a voluntary and meritorious sacrifice of their ambition, a martyrdom of their name.

Thus, I shall not speak at large of the acts of the executive commission. They were an intervention, active, vigilant, disinterested, but often inefficacious, between the insurrections of



the people and the Assembly. A cloud, laden with tempests, was incessantly before the eyes of the government. It was the national workshops.

This army of a hundred and twenty thousand workmen, composed, in great part, of men out of employment and turbulent agents, was the deposit of misery, idleness, vagrancy, vice, and soon of sedition, which a population of thirty-six millions of men, agitated by a revolution, leaves upon its shore, on retiring.

The provisional government, in feeding this mass of indigence, during the rest from labor for four months of an industrial multitude, collected at a capital in conflagration, never had, as has been thought, the design of establishing an institution. This was not an institution, it was an alms; an alms at once of assistance and of policy. For, without this subsidy of the rich to support the poor, what would have become at once of property and poverty? The one would have been ravaged, or the other would have died of hunger; two crimes which a government prudent for the rich, kindly disposed to the poor, could not have committed.

But the provisional government could no longer conceal from itself, that on the day when it should be necessary to change this temporary institution, to dissolve this mass, and to distribute this unoccupied, imperious and paid multitude over other parts of the territory, and upon real labors, there would be a resistance, a conflict, a shock, a formidable sedition, perhaps bloodshed.

It was for this event that the executive commission was preparing in silence; before exposing to it the National Assembly, their duty was double. To mitigate this shock, by effecting, at first, large reductions of their numbers, by wages offered elsewhere, by works prepared on a great scale, by liberal laws of pauperism, and an evident design of assuaging real misery; and then to attack the difficulty with vigor, and to strengthen itself, with an irresistible armed force, to dissolve the last body which should attempt to resist the law, and which should take its idleness without excuse as a pretext for rebellion.

Some members of the executive commission were occupied actively in carrying out this first idea, with M. Trelat, a well-known minister, loved by the suffering portion of the people. Lamartine was particularly engaged upon the second, with the minister of war.

But the National Assembly, recently arrived from their

departments, excited by the resentments of men embittered against the republic, witness of the scandalous vagrancy of this wandering army of the workshops, as yet but slightly initiated into the difficulties of the position of the capital, impatient of the temporization and managements necessary to lead to a dissolution without a catastrophe, were irritated by the delays of the commission. The journals of the monarchical parties did not cease to repeat that the men of the provisional government, deprived of their ambition by the presence of the national sovereignty, guarded, increased, and paid this army of pauperism, to press upon the representatives, to intimidate them, and subject them, by a visible threat, to their guilty desire of rule.

The Assembly was not far from giving faith to these calumnies. While the government was consuming itself in vigils, in efforts, in prudence, and preparations to dissolve, without the effusion of blood, a soldiery whose existence it deplored, and whose sedition it repressed, the Assembly saw in the principal members of this government perverse accomplices of the sedition. Lamartine and Ledru Rollin were the most accused by these insinuations. Their simultaneous presence in the commission, in spite of their known differences of opinion as to the principles of the republic, was a proof, it was said, of an odious alliance, in which they had sacrificed their principles to unite their ambition.

Hence rose some too loud demands and too rash motions from the tribune of the Assembly. These motions resounded unseasonably abroad, and they served as texts to the clubs, to the journals of the demagogues, and to the orators of the crowds, to calumniate, in their turn, the National Assembly, and to animate the people against the pretended selfishness of the *ougeoisie*.

The anti-republican factions, and the ambition concealed under the dynastic denominations, appeared also to concur in the labor of demoralization and sedition which was manifested in the army of the national workshops as the moment of their disbanding approached. The prefect of police, M. Trouvé Chauvel, a man new to these difficult duties, but intrepid, indefatigable and impartially hostile to every faction, and devoted, with a superior and calm sense, to the safety of the country, was deceived in nothing as to the dangers of each morning. He saw dawning a new faction. This faction seemed to wish

to grow with the germ of the young republic, to be confounded with it, or to crush it. It was the Bonapartist faction.

This faction had, they said, many agents in the army of the national workshops. Were these agents paid by voluntary subsidies obtained from individual devotion to the memory of the emperor? Were they kept in pay simply by their fanaticism for a great name? Was it a sect? Was it a natural and spontaneous propagandism of a remembrance living in the hearts of the people, and reviving of itself in a moment when all thoughts were conflicting in every mind? We are induced to believe that the immense popularity of the name of Napoleon was the whole conspiracy. But this popularity, betrayed in cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and in open aspirations for a military dictatorship, proclaimed by the demagogues, became a menace to the republic. Numerous crowds were collected every evening on the boulevards, traversed and harangued by the partisans of Napoleon. The government employed with energy the Guard Mobile, and the National Guard, to dissolve them. They increased every day. M. Clément Thomas, commandant-general of the National Guard, devoted his eloquence, his person, and his life, in the midst of this seditious people. The government exercised its influence. It proclaimed the law against riotous meetings. In a single night, M. Clément Thomas arrested five hundred of these agitators. The riots ceased, but the double leaven of sedition, which lay concealed in the Bonapartist faction and the faction of the destitute, did not cease to envenom the spirit of the national workshops.

#### XIV.

Lamartine felt the danger. He resolved to combat it with energy, before it assumed an irresistible form. He was an enemy of proscriptions, but not of severe precautions, which, by temporarily keeping an individual at a distance, would preserve an institution and a country. He took, with his colleagues, the initiative in a decree which tended to maintain, during the foundation of the republic, the ostracism of the prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. He was, of all the members of that proscribed dynasty, the one who was the most signalized by the popular favor. Heir of the imperial throne, in virtue of a decree of the senate, this prince, little known, and badly represented, at this period, in France, was the only one who had endeavored to take advantage of this title to

the sovereignty of France, by two attempts, which had at once spread abroad and exiled his name.

The whole government, partaking the solicitude of Lamartine for the republic, signed the decree. Lamartine carried the decree to the National Assembly. He proposed to read it, at the end of the session. A discussion respecting the interior brought him unexpectedly to the tribune. While he was replying to a speech of the opposition, they announced to him that Bonapartist rioters covered the place de la Concorde, and that a shot fired at the commandant-general, Clément Thomas, had just pierced the hand of one of his officers. Lamartine, indignant, suspended his discourse, drew from his breast the decree of the temporary proscription of Louis Napoleon, placed it on the tribune, and resumed his speech.

"Citizens," said he, "a fatal circumstance has just interrupted the discourse which I had the honor of addressing to this Assembly. While I spoke of the conditions of the reconstruction of order, and the guarantees we were all disposed to give for the reestablishment of authority, a shot, many musket-shots, it is said, were fired, one upon the commandant of the National Guards of Paris, another upon one of the brave officers of the army, a third, in fine, upon the breast of an officer of the National Guards. These musket-shots were fired amidst cries of *Vive l'Empereur!*

"Gentlemen, it is the first drop of blood which has stained the revolution, ever pure and glorious, of the twenty-fourth of February. Glory to the populace! glory to the different parties of the republic! at least this blood has not been shed by their hands; it has flowed, not in the name of liberty, but in the name of the fanaticism of military souvenirs, and of an opinion, naturally, though perhaps involuntarily, the inveterate enemy of every republic.

"Citizens! in deploring with you the calamity which has just occurred, the government has not incurred the reproach of not being armed, as far as was in its power, against these events. This very morning, an hour before the session, we have signed unanimously a declaration which we proposed to read to you at the close of the session, and which this circumstance compels me to read to you at this moment. When the audacity of factions is taken in the very fact, and found with its hand bathed in the blood of Frenchmen, the law ought to be applied with acclamations. (*Unanimous applause.*)

"The declaration, which I shall have the honor of reading



to the Assembly," continued Lamartine, "intends nothing but the execution of the existing law. It was necessary for the verification of the powers which may take place to-morrow; it was indispensable, in order that minds should be prepared for the deliberation of another proposition, made respecting the same subject, and which must be discussed to-morrow or the day after; it was necessary, I say, also, that the National Assembly should know the intentions of the executive commission, in regard to Charles Louis Bonaparte.

"Behold the text of the decree which we propose to you:

"The commission of executive power, in view of the art. 3 of the law of the 13th of January;

"Considering that Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is comprehended in the law of 1832, which exiled from the French territory the members of the Bonaparte family;

"Considering that if there has been made an exception in fact, to this law, by the vote of the National Assembly, which has admitted three members of this family to form part of the Assembly, these exceptions, all of them individual, do not extend, either in law or in fact, to other members of the same family;

"Considering that France desires to found in peace and in order a republican government, without being disturbed in its work by pretensions or dynastic ambition of a nature to form parties and factions in the state, and consequently to foment, even involuntarily, civil war;

"Considering that Charles Louis Bonaparte has twice assumed the position of a pretender, by claiming a mock republic, in virtue of the decree of the senate of the year XIII.;

"Considering that agitations, outraging the popular republic which we wish to found, compromising the safety of institutions and the public peace, have been already discovered in the name of Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte;

"Considering that these agitations, symptoms of guilty intrigues, might create a difficulty for the peaceful establishment of the republic, if they were authorized by the negligence or feebleness of government;

"Considering that the government must accept the responsibility of the dangers which menace the republican form of government, if it fails in the first of its duties, by not executing an existing law, more than ever justified, during an unsettled period, by reasons of state policy and by the public safety;

"Declares: that it will enforce, as far as regards Louis Bonaparte, the law of 1832, until the day when the National Assembly shall have otherwise decided." (The whole Assembly rose

with the cry of *Vive la République!* with the exception of eight or ten members of the representative body.)

"You feel, citizens," resumed the orator, "that the truly legitimate emotion, produced within these precincts, by the event which has just taken place, obliges me to interrupt and suppress the greater part of the discussion which I desired to open with the National Assembly. I come, at once, to the final considerations which this event excites in my mind.

"After the declaration, which you have just heard, after the preceding decree, after those which will be passed, with as much care and moderation as firmness, to repress all factions, if there are any, within the limits of law and republican order, you will not accuse, I hope, the government for the *interim*, of feebleness or neglect of its duties. However glorious may be the name with which a faction in the republic is covered, we shall know how to tear away the veil, to see behind the name only the faction, if it exists.

"France has seriously adopted the republic; she will defend it against all.

"Yes, we have seriously adopted it, and we will defend it against all the perils which may be raised against it, even in the name of the most glorious and legitimate remembrances. We will never allow France to degrade herself; she shall never degrade herself so far as to permit, as in the unfortunate period of the Lower Empire, the republic to be sold, under any name, into the hands of a few enthusiasts!" (The Assembly arose anew at these words, and ratified by its general acclamations the energetic resolution of the government.)

## XV.

Some days after, the rioters pressing anew on the National Assembly, the government resolved to receive the battle. It collected troops and cannon round the Assembly, convinced that it was better to resist with open force the capricious demands of the people, than to deliver the republic, at random, to a faction, which appeared then to wish to substitute a name for the people itself. But this time the Assembly yielded. This was one of its rare weaknesses, during that long and stormy session of fifteen months. The government, deserted by the Assembly in that energetic defiance which it cast to two factions at once, deplored it. The concession of the Assembly calmed only for a day the exactions and turbulence of the national workshops. This turbulence only changed its flag.

Lamartine, supported by M. Trouvé-Chauvel, a firm spirit, and by Admiral Casy, a brave and noble soldier, conjured the government to resign their power, and to restore to the Assembly an authority henceforth enfeebled, since it was broken by themselves. He insisted for many days. He only consented to remain during the time necessary to encounter the approaching battle, announced by the national workshops.

Some months after, the temporary banishment which Lamartine demanded to keep Louis Napoleon at a distance from the cradle of the republic was changed, in an election, by six millions of votes, to the position of President of the republic. The forecast of Lamartine appeared fortunately belied by the republicanism of this first magistrate. Lamartine congratulated himself on having been deceived by his fears. He confessed that the people were more confiding and more wise than he.

The outrages and the scandals of anarchy were multiplied in Paris. The government resisted them only with the arms of persuasion, of vigilance, of the police and the National Guards. The old repressive laws had been broken, and the laws of republican order had not been enacted. Lamartine was convinced that the scandals of the clubs, of journalism, and the public square, were the most effective arms to be left with the enemies of the republic. France is a country of decency. Scandal humiliates her, and that which humiliates disaffects her. He thought that the republic could only be made legitimate by order promptly reestablished and inflexibly maintained. It was necessary, above all, to reassure the imagination of France.

Full of these ideas, he proposed to the council either its resignation, or the adoption of a series of temporary decrees, called by him republican decrees of transition, and destined to provide for the imperious wants of the security of minds, discipline, an armed force, and order, during the foundation of a new institution, always troubled, especially when this institution is popular.

"The aspect of the republic, for some days, has grieved me," said he to his colleagues. "I do not wish to take upon my name the responsibility of a position of weakness, and of disarming society, which may degenerate into anarchy. I demand two things: laws of public security respecting the rioters, the clubs, the abuses of complaint in anarchical journals, the power of banishing from Paris to their communes the agitators convicted of public sedition, and lastly a camp of twenty thousand

men, under the walls of Paris, to assist the army of Paris and the National Guard in the certain and imminent campaign which we would inevitably have to make against the national workshops, and against the more guilty factions which might arise and become masters of this army of all the seditions. On no other conditions will I remain in the government."

—"Neither will we," unanimously exclaimed his colleagues. M. Marié, assiduous, indefatigable, energetic, was charged with drafting the outline of the decree. General Cavaignac was requested to combine the movements of his troops in such a manner as to be able to cause the auxiliary divisions of the army of the Alps to fall back on Paris at the first order.

This general and Lamartine held frequent conversations respecting the military measures to be taken in order to avert or to surmount the increasing dangers of the republic. Few days passed by on which Lamartine was not informed of the precise number and line of march of the troops, who, according to the orders of the government, occupied the barracks or cantonments in the neighborhood of Paris; of the number of hours that would be required for the army to be on foot, and collected at suitable posts; and, in fine, of the system of defence which the general proposed to adopt, in case of a conflict in the capital.

Lamartine, instructed by the fall of all preceding governments, which had perished from having dispersed their battalions over all the points of Paris, and by having fought with portions of the army against the masses, was convinced that a combat, in a capital of fifteen hundred thousand souls, should be a battle, conformed in every respect to the theory of pitched battles in a regular campaign, only upon a ground less carefully selected. He thought, then, that the army should have a base of operations, a fixed centre and wings; that each corps of operation should be able to radiate from this base, or fall back upon this centre, without ever being cut off, from its reserve. He had, for the last three months, closely interrogated, respecting their opinion in regard to this, all the generals who would eventually have any force to manœuvre in Paris, Négrier, Bedeau, Oudinot and Cavaignac. He fortunately found that they all agreed with his opinion. He then supported General Cavaignac in the adoption of this system, against the contrary system, supported by those who wished to consider an insurrection as a sedition, and to strike it at every point, under pain of suppressing it in none.



"Do not deceive yourselves," said he to them; "we do not march against a sedition, but to a battle, — not to a battle, but to a campaign against powerful factions. If the republic wishes to save itself, and to save society with it, it must be armed during the first years of its establishment; and it must dispose its troops, not only here, but over the surface of the empire, in the prospect of civil wars, which embrace not only the quarters of Paris, but the provinces, as in the days of Cæsar and Pompey."

He very frequently questioned, respecting the effective force of Paris, the under-secretary of war, Charras, and the general of division, Foucher. Their replies appeared to him fully reassuring. Calumny has accused the government of negligence at this epoch. These officers and generals could, on the contrary, accuse the excessive caution of Lamartine. He had, since the opening of the Assembly, but one thought, — to dissolve, if it was possible, then to vanquish, if it was necessary, the insurrection of the national workshops. In order that the victory might be prompt, decisive, crushing, and consequently less sanguinary, it was necessary to overawe the mass of the insurgents by the mass of bayonets.

## XVI.

All the symptoms foretold a movement. It broke out on the twenty-second of June, at ten o'clock in the evening. The government, informed of the riots and outcry which its first measures to distribute a portion of the workmen over the departments had excited, assembled at the Luxembourg. Numerous and furious bands had already many times during the evening assailed the palace, with cries of, "*A bas Marie! A bas Lamartine!*" These two members of the government were considered the most decided to dissolve this army of sedition. General Cavaignac received the general command of the troops and the National Guards, from the hands of the government, in order to concentrate the plan, the will, and the unity of execution, in a single chief. Clément Thomas, as disinterested as brave, himself acceded to this unity. He only reserved to himself the honor of obedience, of self-denial, and danger.

The night was calm; it passed away in the preparation for defence and attack. Neither the socialist nor the ultra-republican party participated, by their chiefs, nor even by their principal sectaries, in the insurrection. These men, at that time,

either formed part of the government, or served it from conviction and hope. Everything indicated that this movement, undecided, feeble and incoherent in its principle, was only organized, paid, and accomplished, in the bosom of the national workshops themselves; — a movement of the mob, and not of the people; a conspiracy of subalterns, and not of leaders; an explosion of servile, but not of civil war. Lamartine, by establishing the harmony of the republicans in the council, had prudently drawn the political electricity from this anti-social cloud. The body was there — the soul was wanting. Behold why it miscarried, — but it miscarried with too much blood.

## XVII.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-third of June, the government was informed that collections of from eight to ten thousand men were forming upon the place de Pantheon, to attack the Luxembourg. They caused these bodies to be attacked by some battalions of the eleventh legion, whose colonel was M. Quinet, and by the battalions of the line. M. Arago, known in the quarter, wished to present himself in person on the square, already barricaded. He harangued the insurgents, wavering between their respect for him and their fury against the government. At ten o'clock, the rioters were dispersed, carrying with them the famished masses of the twelfth arrondissement. They dispersed, crying, *To arms!* through the quarters lying on the banks of the Seine, through the faubourg Saint Antoine, and over the boulevards.

At their appearance and their cries, the faubourgs are roused, the streets are filled; the men of the national workshops descend from the barriers; the populace, incited by some armed leaders, erect the barricades. These chiefs were, in general, brigadiers of the national workshops, agents of sedition and the clubs, irritated at the disbanding of their corps, whose wages, passing through their hands, and turned aside, it is said, for this purpose, by some of them, paid the revolt. From the barriers of Charenton, of Bercy, of Fontainebleau, and Ménilmontant, to the heart of Paris, almost the whole capital was disarmed, and in the power of a few thousand men. The drum called to arms a National Guard of two hundred thousand men, ten times enough to restrain these clusters of insurgents, and to raze their fortifications to the ground. But we must say, to the disgrace of this day, and for the instruction of the future, the National

Guards did not reply, at first, in mass sufficiently decisive, to the call of government. Their delay, their faintheartedness, their inactivity, in some quarters, left the streets to the sedition. They saw erected, with an unmoved eye, those barricades which they would have to reconquer with their blood.

The government had left the Luxembourg, to draw near to the National Assembly and to protect it. They formed themselves at once into a council and a camp, with General Cavaignac in the room of the president of the Assembly.

### XVIII.

The general formed, in concert with the government, his plan of operation. He resolved to concentrate his troops, as had been previously agreed, in the garden of the Tuileries, on the Champs-Élysées, on the place de la Concorde, on the Esplanade des Invalides, and round the palace of the representatives. He caused the Hôtel de Ville to be occupied by fifteen or sixteen battalions, under the command of General Duvivier, maintaining their communications free by the quays. He gave to the brave General Damesme, whom the government had just appointed commandant of the Guard Mobile, the command of the vast and populous quarter which extends from the Pantheon to the Seine. General Lamoricière, with a small number of battalions, was charged with defending the whole left bank of the Seine, from the château d'Eau as far as the Madeleine,—an immense surface, which would have demanded an army for itself alone.

### XIX.

In the mean while, the combat was just engaged, of its own accord, upon the boulevards. Two detachments of intrepid volunteers of order, of the first and second legions, assaulted two barricades advanced to that point, and died heroically under their feet, at the first discharge of the insurgents.

I will not relate the different combats of these days, during which the generals, the select National Guards, the soldiers, the Mobile Guards especially, the representatives, and the Archbishop of Paris himself, shed their blood, covered their country with mourning, and their names with glory; Négrier, Duvivier, Lamoricière, Bedeau, Bréa, Bixio, Dornès, Lafontaine, Lebreton, Foucher, Lefrançois, and so many others, marked

with a stain of their generous blood the pages in which history will record their devotion. I shall speak only of what I saw.

From noon the troops, anticipated so far beforehand, and called since so long a time, appeared to be wanting. At each moment the citizens, the mayors, the aides-de-camp, and the representatives, ran to the seat of government, introduced themselves to the presence of the general, and implored reinforcements to defend or regain the different quarters which they represented. The general could not give them that which he did not have. Lamartine and his colleagues, while approving the great prudence of the military chief, who refused to disperse his battalions, could not help perceiving the evident insufficiency of the troops. Where were the twenty thousand men in the barracks of Paris? the fifteen thousand men of the neighboring garrisons? the twenty thousand men of the army of the Alps, solicited, as a reserve, thirty days before, by Lamartine? General Cavaignac has since clearly proved that the number of the troops of the line in Paris conformed to the number appointed by the government; but in this first moment of confusion, when the exigences of war, over so large a surface, absorbed and swallowed up the battalions, the regiments appeared to sink beneath the hand. The camp near Paris was not even under march; the neighboring garrisons could not, in so few hours, be at the barriers. The necessities, foreseen during the evening, had not appeared sufficiently grave to the commandant-general for him to have yet summoned the soldiers of the line of Paris. He had relied upon the National Guards, whom the incessant beating to arms had not succeeded in bringing out in mass from their houses, or whom the sedition imprisoned in their quarters. In fine, we must avow, whether from fatality or slowness, the army was far from appearing to answer by its mass to the imminence and universality of the danger. Its numerical weakness would aggravate this danger.

Duvivier restrained the heart of Paris at the Hôtel de Ville. Damesme and Lamoricière seemed to multiply themselves, and displayed prodigies of valor and activity with the handful of soldiers they could command. At four o'clock in the evening, Damesme had cleared and regained all the left bank of the Seine, and overawed the population, rising in mass, of the quarter of the Pantheon. His reports to the government, arriving from hour to hour, answered for the night and the morning.



Lamoricière, invincible, though surrounded by two hundred thousand men, occupied the whole surface which extends from the rue du Temple to the Madeleine, and from Clichy to the Louvre. Constantly on horseback, flying in person at the first shot, two horses already killed under him, his face blackened with powder, his forehead streaming with sweat, his voice hoarse with giving orders, his eye proud and serene, the eye of a soldier who breathes in the midst of his native element, he restored enthusiasm to his soldiers, and confidence to the dismayed National Guards. His reports breathed the intrepidity of his soul ; but he did not dissemble his insufficiency of troops, the vast number of assailants, the lengthening of barricades between the Bastille and the château d'Eau, between the barriers and the boulevards. He called for reinforcements, which the government incessantly summoned by the telegraph, and by officers of the staff. The National Guards of the Bannière began to arrive by detachments ; at the order of the generals, they formed in lines around the Assembly, and united with the National Guards, to whom they set the example. From the moment that the government saw these National Guards from the country round about Paris, it had the feeling of victory amidst even the agonies of the combat.

## XX.

General Cavaignac appeared to be made easy with reference to the final issue of the event, as he read the latest reports brought by his aides-de-camp. The insurrection was checked or repressed, with the exception of the faubourg du Temple, the faubourg Saint-Antoine, and the extensive quarters adjacent, the centre of a dense population, turbulent before, and now convulsed. The soldiers, who had fought from morning, were fatigued. Night would bring the reinforcements summoned by the government. "It is enough for to-day," said he to the council ; "the soldiers must be allowed repose ; our positions must be guarded ; our forces recruited ; to-morrow we will deliver the part of the left bank which still resists." This advice had plausible motives ; the troops were few, decimated, enfeebled ; but if the night was to bring defenders, it was also to draw all the populous quarters into the sedition, to multiply barricades, to change them into fortresses, and to necessitate waves of blood on the part of the National Guards and the army, in order to regain them. Lamartine observed this to the

general and to the council : "We have four hours of daylight yet," said he, "and the whole of a long night ; let us not leave them to the insurrection. Let us anticipate it, stifle it, confine it, at least, as narrowly as possible, before dark ; if the troops fail us, let us, by our own example, rouse the National Guard, which wavers and lags ; let us form with a few battalions, grouped around the Assembly, a last column of attack, and lead it ourselves to the assault of the barricades of the faubourg du Temple, the strongest and most decisive position of the insurgents."

General Cavaignac vigorously took up with this opinion. He gave orders, and rose to assemble and lead himself the main body of the column. Lamartine sent for his horses, saddled and bridled, since morning, for the contingencies of the day. He mounted one, and gave the other to Pierre Bonaparte, an intrepid young man, son of Lucien, heir to the republicanism of his father. The minister of finances, Duclerc, as calm under fire as he was impetuous in the council, wished to join them. Lamartine and his friends, among whom were a National Guard of the tenth legion, an old soldier named Blanc, whom he found at his side on all occasions of peril, as well as the adventurous Château-Renard, took their places in the ranks of the foremost platoons of the Guard Mobile, and marched through the place de la Concorde and the rue de la Paix, swelling their numbers on the route. General Cavaignac, with the main body of the column, rejoined them at the entrance on the boulevards. M. de Tréveneuc, the Briton representative, on horseback and armed, requested of Lamartine permission to accompany him. The countenance of this stranger, at that time, to the member of government, breathed patriotism and war. A summer storm at this moment burst upon Paris. General Cavaignac, surrounded by his staff, Lamartine, Duclerc, Pierre Bonaparte, followed by about two thousand men, advanced amidst flashes of lightning, the roar of thunder, and the applause of good citizens, as far as the château d'Eau. While the minister sent for cannon, and was forming his column intrusted to General Foucher, commandant of Paris, Lamartine went to review the artillery of the National Guard at the Temple. These brave citizens were a mere handful of men, overwhelmed in a population undecided between the sedition and the republic. The name of Lamartine, his presence, his gestures, scarcely restrained it. It surrounded him, and followed him with its shouts and its crowd as far as the boulevard. The column was formed, and received the order to charge.

Lamartine and his friends rushed forward with the battalions of the Guard Mobile and of the line, amidst shouts of "*Vive la République!*" These young soldiers seemed raised from the ground by the spirit of Austerlitz. After three quarters of an hour of repeated assaults, and under a hail of bullets and balls, which decimated the generals, the officers, and the soldiers, these fortifications were carried. Lamartine desired for death, to free him from the odious responsibility of blood which would weigh so unjustly but inevitably upon him. Thrice he leaped from his horse, to go on foot to the barricade, and seek to fall a victim among the foremost ranks of these generous soldiers. Thrice the guards of the Assembly threw their arms around him, and held him back by force. His horse, ridden by Pierre Bonaparte, was killed at his side; his own was wounded. Cannon of the largest calibre, sent by General Cavaignac, demolished the last fortification of the insurgents at this point. Four hundred brave men, killed or mutilated, strewed the faubourg. Lamartine returned to the château d'Eau, to rejoin General Cavaignac.

Accompanied by Duclerc, and a National Guardsman named Laussant, who attached himself to him on that day, he crossed alone the line of outposts to reconnoitre the people on the boulevard de la Bastille. An immense crowd of people again opened at his name, and received him with their acclamations, their enthusiasm, and their cries. He conversed a long time with this crowd, pressing through them at a slow pace by the breast of his horse. His confidence in the midst of the insurgent masses alone preserved him from their anger. These men, whose paleness, feverish tone, and even tears, attested their emotion, told him of their grievances, which they attributed to the Assembly; of their grief at seeing the revolution stain itself with blood; their willingness to obey him,—him, whom they knew as their counsellor and friend, not as their enemy; and of their misery, their hunger, and the destitution of their wives and children. "We are not bad citizens, Lamartine," they said; "we are not assassins, we are not factions. We are unfortunate; we are only honest workmen, who ask to have thought taken for us, our toil, and our miseries. Govern us yourself! save us! command us! We love you,—we know you. We will disarm our brethren."

While speaking thus, these men, emaciated by a three months' agitation and want of work, touched the clothes and hands of Lamartine. Some of them ran to plunder the stalls

of the flower-dealers, and throw flowers on his horse's mane. At intervals only, a conspirator, with a forbidding face, passed over the side-walks, and uttered the war-cry, stifled by the more numerous shouts of "*Vive Lamartine!*"

Such was the aspect of the people, who, for want of troops to occupy these quarters, were about to be thrown completely into insurrection.

## XXI.

Lamartine returned, without having been either attacked or insulted, to join the general on the boulevard. He told him the state of the popular mind. He had an understanding with him, while still moving on, with respect to pressing orders to be given to the troops out of Paris, to summon them in a body, and immediately, over all the routes. He left the general at the porte Saint-Martin to dispose his defence, and returned to communicate his concerted orders to the ministry of war and to the council.

It was night. The firing had everywhere ceased. During the absence of Lamartine, his colleagues, Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, Pagnerre, were gone to visit the mayoralties, and to animate the National Guards by their example and their exhortations. Ledru Rollin had remained at the presidency for the despatch of orders of urgency, and to watch against the possible dangers of the Assembly.

At midnight, the nearest regiments and the National Guards of the neighboring towns entered in masses by all the barriers. The victory might yet be slow, but henceforth it was assured.

## XXII.

The confidence, however, which had returned to the spirit of the government, had not returned to the National Assembly. A suspicious party wished to profit by this crisis to overthrow the executive committee, which it continued groundlessly to distrust. The next day, at eight o'clock, a certain number of representatives forced the door of the council, and officiously solicited the members of the government to resign. The members of the government unanimously had long since desired only to leave a situation in which devotion alone retained them, entirely against their convenience and their ambition. Nevertheless, they were unwilling to retire in the midst of a



tempest, or to quit the field of battle like cowards who abandon power during the conflict. Lamartine, Garnier Pagès, and Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, revolted with energy against this insinuation :

"The Assembly may dismiss and replace us," said they ; "we will obey like good citizens. The dismissal will be a command. But our voluntary retirement at such a moment would be a dishonor !"

At ten o'clock, the Assembly, in permanent session, conferred complete civil authority upon General Cavaignac, to whom they had themselves, the evening before, intrusted complete military authority. Lamartine wrote, in the name of his colleagues, the following letter to the Assembly.

"Citizen-Representatives, —

"The committee of the executive power would have failed at once to its duties and its honor in retiring before a sedition, and before a public peril. It retires only before a vote of the Assembly. In returning to you the powers with which you had invested us, it reënters the ranks of the National Assembly, to devote itself, with you, to the common danger, and to the safety of the republic."

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Such is the recital of the principal events in which I participated, during the first two periods of the revolution of 1848, and of the establishment of republican institutions in France. The destinies of the republic have since passed into other hands. It is for the future to award according to deeds. Great services have been rendered, faults have been committed. I pray God, my contemporaries, and posterity, to pardon me for mine. May Providence supply for the errors and the weaknesses of men ! Republics appear to be more directly governed by Providence, because in them no hand is seen intervening between the people and its destiny. May the unseen hand protect France ! May it sustain her at once against impatience and discouragement, that double quicksand for the character of our race ! May it preserve the republic against those two quicksands — war and the sway of demagogues ! And, from a conservative and progressive republic, — the only one durable, the only one possible, — may it cause to bloom forth what is germinant in this kind of institution — the morality of the people and the reign of God.

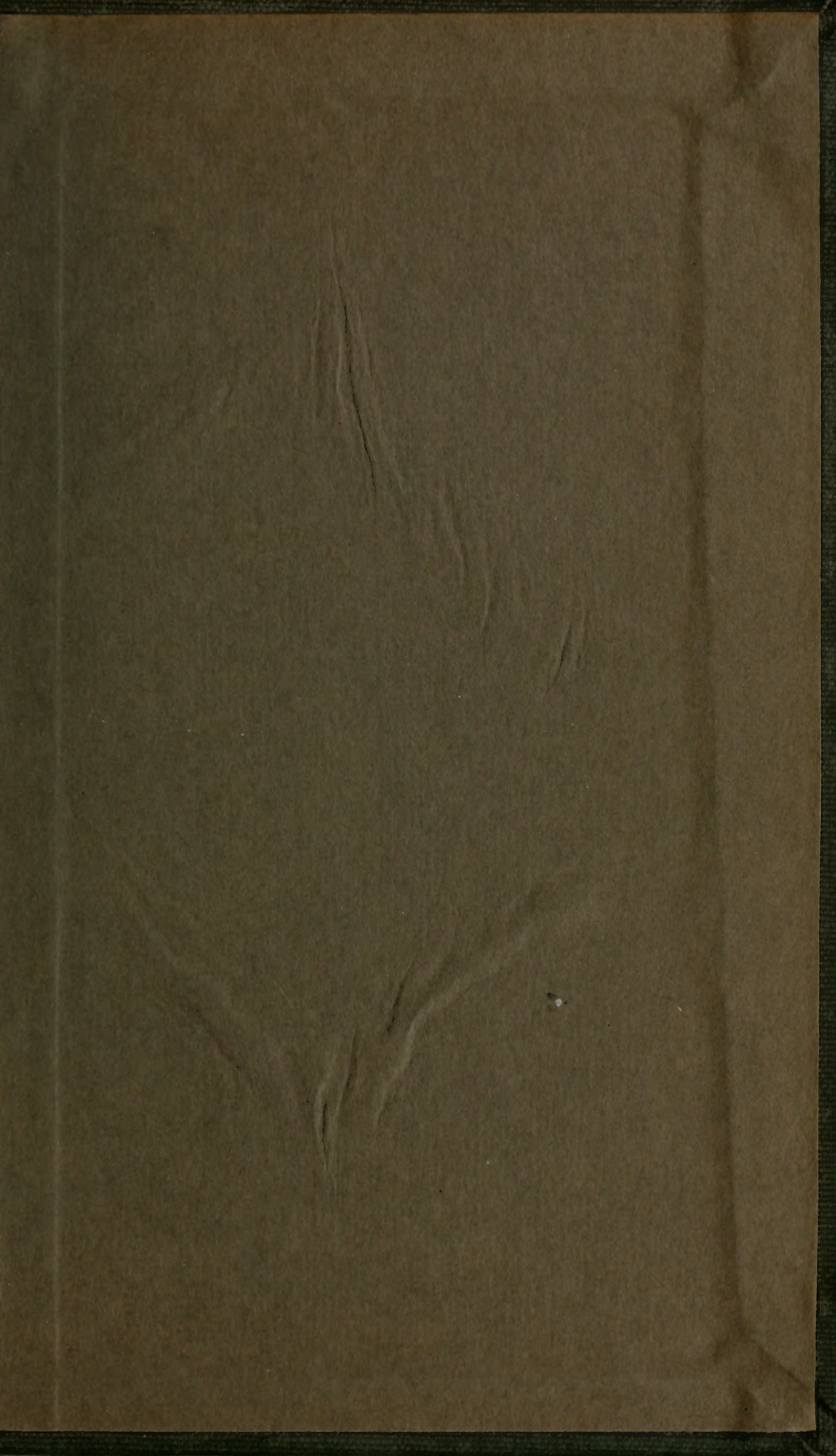














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